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PROGRESS VS. THE MOB

New Orleans holds spotlight in tense integration struggle

By Joanne Grant

WITH THE CIVIL RIGHTS struggle generally showing little progress, the national spotlight is on four little Negro girls in New Orleans who daily have been braving the jeers of a mob to enter formerly all-white schools in the first attempt at school integration in the Deep South.

Encouraging signs in the New Orleans picture were the Federal court orders which continue to strike down segregationist legislators' attempts to block integration, and the increasing numbers of white children re-entering the two desegregated public schools.

Between Nov. 28, when the Thanksgiving recess ended, and Dec. 5, the number of white pupils attending McDonough and Franz schools went up from 2 to 17. A parents organization, Save Our Schools, which is attempting to break the white boycott of the two schools, formed car pools to run pupils past the mobs and to get parents safely home.

PAST THE MOB: Meanwhile, white parents who have been sending children to school in near-by parishes (counties) signed leases on two buildings to be used as private schools.

A small group of rabid segregationists continued until Dec. 5 to demonstrate at the two integrated schools and to accost white and Negro parents as they escorted their children to school. Rev. Lloyd A. Foreman (see photo p. 4), who has taken his daughter to school every day since the Negro pupils entered, was jeered at two church services he conducted on Sunday, Dec. 4, and was hounded out of his home. Mrs. Daisey J. Gabrielle who has taken her child past the mob for two weeks said in an inter-

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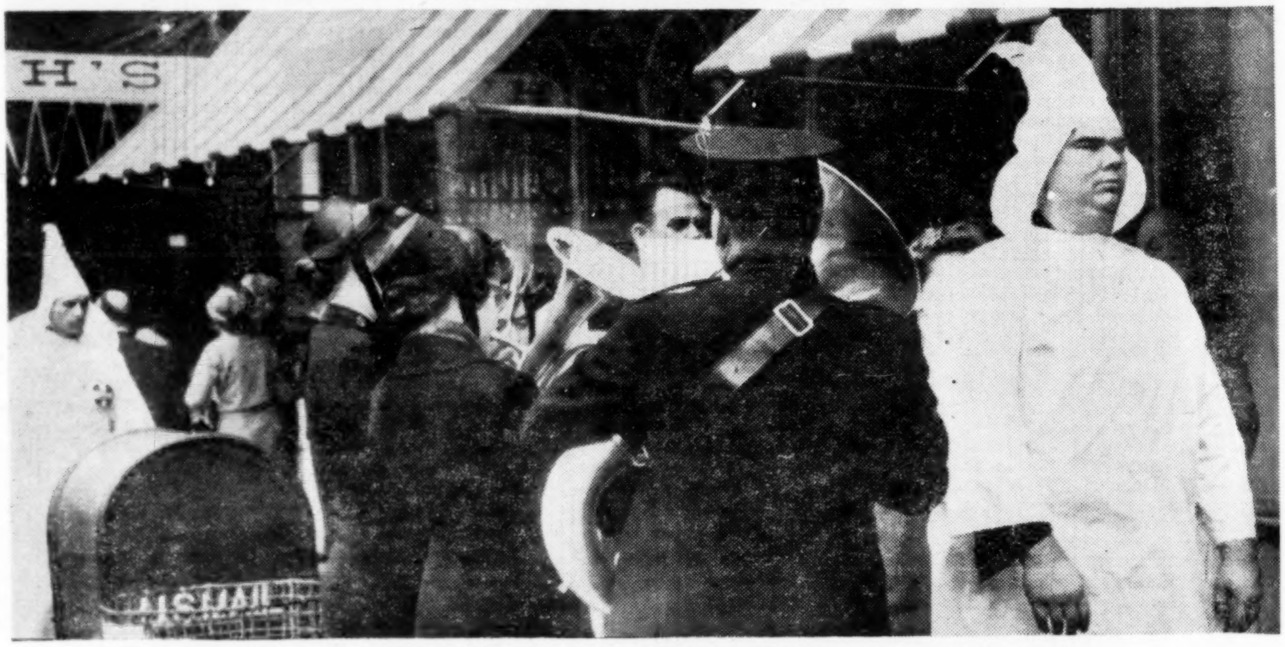

PUZZLE: FIND THE PEOPLE IN THIS PHOTO MOST IN NEED OF SALVATION

The scene: Atlanta, Ga., outside a department store with segregated lunch counters. The Klansmen paraded to protest sit-in demonstrations there. The Salvation Army band played as of yore. And across the street Negroes picketed. The Klan, they said, was doing a far more effective job in keeping people out of the store than they ever could.

WASHINGTON FINDS THE OLD WAY DOESN'T WORK

Revolutionary fever is up in Latin America

By Kumar Goshal

REVOLUTIONARY CRIES rent the air of Latin America again during November and December. Last month there was trouble in Guatemala and Nicaragua. This month unrest flared in Venezuela and Argentina. Shouts of "Down with Yankee imperialism!" were heard with increasing frequency. At this writing, all the revolts have been smothered; but the fire is smouldering beneath the ashes.

Washington reacted as in the past. From the Augusta golf links President Eisenhower ordered an aircraft carrier, destroyers and land-based patrol planes to the Central American coast to protect Guatemala and Nicaragua from "the landing of armed forces or supplies from abroad." There was talk of "massive U.S. aid" to all four Latin states.

The U.S. blamed Cuban Premier Fidel Castro for the uprisings. He was accused of inflaming by skillful propaganda the passions of otherwise peaceful people, and of sending his "agents" into these countries to prepare the way for actual invasion. And all this in the interest of "international communism." But the truth could not entirely be suppressed.

THE PRESIDENT'S PLOT: From Guatemala City, New York **World-Telegram** correspondent Albert Colegrove reported (Nov. 26) that Americans on the spot had found "no signs of . . . pro-Castro sentiments among the rebels." One American said: "They were the politest rebels I ever saw." Colegrove continued: "But somehow or other — and without really getting specific—[President] Ydigoras got across the impression that the whole plot was hatched in Cuba." He added:

"When . . . the rebels cut and ran . . . a visiting U.S. Senator emerged from a private talk with Gen. Ydigoras to declare that Guatemala had been 'the first to break the Castro offensive'."

Nicaraguan and Argentinian accusations followed the Guatemalan pattern. But in Venezuela, where the outbreaks were more serious, the pattern varied. There trouble started on Nov. 25 when armed high school students joined striking government telephone workers. They were later joined by university students and other workers' groups who tried to storm police and radio stations.

BETANCOURT MOVES: President Betancourt on Nov. 27 sent the army against them; suspended constitutional guarantees; dispatched police to raid the homes of leftist and Communist congressmen in search of weapons and "subversive propaganda"; closed down Communist and other left-wing publications, and arrested some 250 leftist leaders.

After troops surrounded the schools and the University City where the students were barricaded, Betancourt declared that their resistance was over. He told the press that Communists and other leftists were exploiting "the ferment of discontent" among the "millions of poor people," that Venezuela faced a greater danger from Dominican dictator Trujillo. He never referred to Castro or Cuba; but taking advantage of the situation, he upped his request for U.S. aid from $50,000,000 to $300,000,000.

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Our man's in Havana—no thanks to the Frightened Giant

WE TELEPHONED HAVANA Monday morning, Dec. 5, and over a perfectly clear connection welcomed our editor-in-exile, Cedric Belfrage, back to our hemisphere. He sounded his ever-cheerful self. and as near at hand as if we had dialed him at his old BUtterfield 8 neighborhood in New York.

In actual fact he was nearly that close to the GUARDIAN office a few days earlier, and his side of that story appears on page 3. Of our side of the story, we have already given away the happy ending in the first paragraph of this Report. The rest is a rueful tale, of the sort we are beginning to believe can happen only in America.

In preparation for Havana, he arranged last month to sublet his London flat and booked air passage to Havana through a London travel agent for Thursday, Dec. 1. Of the two air routes from London to Havana—via Madrid or New York—he chose the less expensive Pan-American Airways to Idlewild International Airport in New York and Cubana Airlines from there to Havana.

The Pan-American flight was scheduled to land at 1:30 p.m. N.Y. time, and the Cubana flight to depart at 4:30 p.m. "I presume that I shall be passing the two-and-odd hours at Idlewild in a segregated, fumigated chamber for transients," Cedric wrote, and, employing some of his newly-learned Spanish, added "Huelga decirlo (needless to say), I shall be visaless and hence subject to strict quarantine."

HOW STRICT A QUARANTINE we were all to find out together, on the chilly afternoon of Dec. 1. The Pan-American flight came in late, at 2:15 and the four of us—Aronson, McManus, Mrs. Belfrage, and his counsel, Blanch Freedman—were perched on the observation deck as the plane was berthed.

We waved, shouted, got recognized, then all trooped hopefully to the glassed-in balcony from which visitors are permitted to watch international passengers go through customs. [All baggage is wheeled into Customs, and people in transit claim their baggage there and arrange to have it carted to the outgoing airline—in this case a matter of a hundred yards or so away in the same immense Idlewild terminal.]

WE WATCHED for what seemed like an hour, until the huge baggage heap was down to five traveling bags. At this point we divided our forces, Aronson and Mrs. Freedman going down to the Customs floor, McManus and Mrs. Belfrage maintaining the vigil over the baggage from the balcony.

One by one the last bags were claimed, until only one stood there alone, on the vast Customs room floor.

Then from the balcony we saw Aronson hurry into the Customs enclosure, showing his press card and tak-

(Continued on Page 2)

THE MAIL BAG

Wyman's merry-go-round

HUDSON, N.H.

State Atty. Gen. Louis Wyman has now sought to strengthen his hand by taking the unusual step of dismissing the original case against me which began in 1955 and has started an entirely new proceeding to compel me to answer his questions. (It was under this new case that I was jailed in Boscawen last June and released on bail in July.) This means that I now have to go all the way back upstairs again, first to the New Hampshire Supreme Court this month, and then quite likely to the U.S. Supreme Court again.

Financially the prospect is that the thousands of dollars we had to spend during the 1955-1960 period for legal expenses (7 appearances before the N.H. Supreme Court alone!) may conceivably have to be raised all over again. But this time we feel somewhat stronger legally and that we have a good chance of ultimately defeating Wyman.

Funds may be sent to:

Mrs. Berjig Persekian
DeGregory Defense Committee
Box 66, Harvard Station
Cambridge 38, Mass.

Hugo DeGregory

Who's behind whom?

PHILADELPHIA, PA.

If the American press really wants to do some good, it should write against the real dictators like Trujillo and Franco. The people of Cuba are behind Castro; are the people of the Dominican Republic behind Trujillo, or the people of Spain behind Franco? **Alan Brown**

The German drive

NEW YORK, N.Y.

By chance, I recently picked up a booklet that was handed to me some months ago at the U.S. World Trade Fair in the New York Coliseum. It was distributed at the German stand, and is a richly-illustrated booklet entitled **Germany at a Glance.**

It has a map attached of Germany with boundaries as of 1937. East Germany is referred to as "the so-called German Democratic Republic" and the territories which have been parts of Poland and the Soviet Union since 1945, as being under Polish and Soviet administration.

The explanation at the bottom reads as follows: "The map shows the latest internationally-recognized frontiers of Germany as they were in 1937. New frontiers can be established only through a peace treaty. The final decision regarding this matter is still open."

To stress the point, on the reverse side of the map comparative figures of the density of population are given, according to which West Germany (German Federal Republic) and England have the highest density of population per square mile in Europe—547 and 549 respectively—as against the background of only 23 in the Soviet Union.

People with some experience remember the Hitler propaganda in the last few years before the war, playing the tune of the "bleeding border" (between Germany and Poland), of the German people without "living space" and the destiny of the German race toward the "Drang nach Osten" (Drive to the East). The captains of the expanding German industry were the real driving power behind Kaiser Wilhelm during World War I and then behind Adolf Hitler during World War II. Now under the cover of NATO they are permitted again to stake their chances on World War III.

Name withheld

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

When the United States nuclear submarine **George Washington** put to sea this week carrying 16 hydrogen bomb missiles, Admiral Arleigh Burke told the crew that if war began "your ship and the missiles it carries will contribute to the salvation of civilization." Vice Admiral Elton Grenfell noted that the submarine will be at sea during Christmas, and added the hope that its mission would give the seasonal theme of peace "a true significance."

—From an editorial in the **Globe and Mail,** Toronto, Ont., Nov. 18.

One year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Be sure to send original clip with each entry. Winner this week: H.T. and P.J.M., Toronto, Ont., Can.

Security for investors

CEDAREDGE, COLO.

It seems to me that our State Department pays too much attention to our foreign investors.

No doubt American investors in Cuba are getting a bad deal now but we should remember that these same men have given the Cuban people a bad deal for the past 50 years by holding on to industries and natural resources and paying peon wages.

Millions are taken from American taxpayers each year for foreign aid and military build-up, all largely to make our foreign investors more secure.

The great American military display in the eastern Mediterranean was to impress the Arab countries, especially Iraq, with with the danger of nationalizing oil or in any way squeezing American oil interests. The bill for all these millions spent in that display was sent to American taxpayers at home. Those oil interests in the Near East don't pay taxes in this country on their Arab holdings.

Jack Bays

Open Letter

MAYS LANDING, N.J.

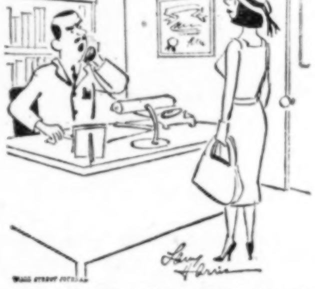
Who speaks for us? Who is the Voice of America? Grandma Moses? Robert Frost? Sherwood Anderson? Carl Sandburg? Louis Armstrong? Charley Parker? Paul Robeson? Walt Whitman? Or does the H-Bomb speak for us? Teller? Meany? (what is good for the U.S. is good for General Motors, General Dynamics, General Twining, General Staff?).

Our country will not survive because of something that happens at the end; it will survive because we sit in for it, march for it, picket for it, get beaten for it, go to jail for it, burn for it—today! The act at any moment may seem trivial—what counts is our collective magnitude. Survival begins with thousands of individual steps, so that the final step becomes inevitable.

We have to be citizens today—just ordinary, unabiding citizens who refuse to stomach what passes for the U.S. when the Pentagon speaks. If we act like automatons, we are doomed to take our place as fossils next to tiny tail ends that hold the inch brain of the 80-foot dinosaur.

Nothing is too small to escape our anger—or too big. If we want to win the country for our children, we have to fight for it; to begin now, today, and continue forever.

Walter Lowenfels



Wall Street Journal

"You'll have to appear personally for that blood test, Mr. Johnson. It doesn't do any good to send over your secretary."

Good radio

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

I must give three cheers to Mike Tushes' candid session on Station KABC with Rev. Ashton Jones.

This is a wholesome program in the midst of all the junk we get on radio and TV. It was a thrill to read the Spectator on Rev. Jones and then to be able to hear him over the airwaves.

Bernice C. Bedol

Happy birthday

WINNETKA, ILL.

"Happy 78th" to your friend and ours. We are all so fortunate to count her as our friend. As is customary, we send her her birthday present by sending you the enclosed money. May both of you keep up your great work.

Friends of your friend
Reginald E. Carles

Cecelia Kaplan

ST. PETERSBURG, FLA.

I am enclosing a contribution in loving memory of my dear wife Cecelia who passed away this last summer and who, like myself, was an ardent and enthusiastic reader of your paper since its inception.

Simon Kaplan

Foreign students

HARVEY, ILL.

I am a 15-year-old high school sophomore who is interested in corresponding with high school or college students in foreign countries, or with foreign exchange students in and around Illinois, preferably young men.

Veronica Jones
14916 Seeley

In memory of Marc

ST. AUGUSTINE, FLA.

I wonder how many people realize what a magnificent fighter Vito Marcantonio was in Congress. He voted his conscience. He WAS the conscience of Congress while he was there.

Now for the first time I have had the opportunity to read his brilliant speeches, so well collected and edited by Dr. Annette Rubinstein.

Let us pay honor to Marc's memory on his birthday, the 10th of December.

A. Aanes

For six figures

SAFETY HARBOR, FLA.

I have been sending the GUARDIAN to authors of good letters-to-the-editor in Clearwater and St. Petersburg. I hope thereby to bring your subscription list above 30,000. If any magazine deserved a six-figure circulation it is our indispensable GUARDIAN.

Doc Raymund

Ten Years Ago in the Guardian

BY THE SECOND DAY of the Truman-Attlee talks in Washington, it had been concluded that the battle in Korea was "virtually lost," (James Reston, New York **Times**); the cold-war emphasis shifted almost overnight back to Europe. Now in prospect as a "counter-blow to Soviet aggression" (no Soviet soldier is fighting anywhere) is a U.S. attempt at a vast stepping-up of the militarization of West European countries, particularly West Germany. The Dover Group of Boston millionaires, first big business spokesmen to see the handwriting on the Korean wall, called last week for the U.S. to station "at least 20 divisions" of troops in France, Belgium and Holland. U.S. High Commissioner McCloy said in Frankfurt that a rearmed West Germany must be given full partnership in European affairs, with entry into all international organizations, including presumably the UN. Secy. Acheson reportedly told a House Foreign Affairs Committee that he "now proposes to make Germany an equal ally in every respect."

—From the National Guardian, Dec. 13, 1950

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REPORT TO READERS

Our man's in Havana

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ing a quick look at the last suitcase. It was Belfrage's, sure enough. Mrs. Freedman then hurried in, too, and seemed headed for the Immigration and Naturalization Service office. But an official halted both of them, there was a short conference, and they motioned to the balcony vigil to come down and join the party.

We were going to be permitted to visit with Belfrage, or so we were promised. So we sat. After a bit of this Aronson got impatient, and left the group. He came back quickly, and breathless.

"I saw him," he exclaimed. "I just had time to embrace him. Then the supervisor busted in and told me that I would be respecting his wishes if I departed."

He had found Belfrage sitting in the Immigration "quarantine," smoking his pipe and looking hungry. So we sat, again. Shortly, an Immigration official gave us our first hard news of the situation.

It was not a question merely of our being permitted to see Belfrage, the man explained. The question was whether he would be permitted to travel the hundred yards or so to Cubana Airlines departure lounge. They were putting it up to Washington.

Aghast hardly describes our state. Wasn't it normal procedure for visaless people to be permitted to change planes at international airports? The official—always affable, by the way—agreed that it sometimes was, but sometimes not. In Belfrage's case, not without Washington's okay. Technically, he said, Belfrage was applying for a transit visa for that little stroll down a corridor of U.S. territory to Cubana's flight deck. He was not, we shouted; he was back there smoking his pipe and hadn't had anything to eat since 8 o'clock breakfast in London!

MEANWHILE Elizabeth Taylor arrived from England and was set upon by a horde of reporters, photographers, TV men and cops; the girl on the loudspeaker paged "the Rolls-Royce chauffeur," summoned Lord Inchcape to the BOAC counter; and various flights came and went from and to all manner of fabled ports of call.

Then it was 4 p.m., and they began announcing the Cubana departure. No word from Immigration. We telephoned. The supervisor was away from his desk, they said. We watched the Cubana plane load. Finally it took off, right on the dot of 4:30. No Belfrage aboard.

Well, to come to the end of that dreary day at Idlewild, we stuck around, telephoning every 15 minutes or so. It got to be 8 p.m. (the supervisor was out to dinner); 8:30 (he was back, but washing his hands); then it was nine o'clock, and this time we got through to the supervisor.

Oh yes, Belfrage: He took off for London at eight o'clock. Saturday morning's **Times** had a 1½-inch item on the obituary page from Reuter's, reporting his return.

THE FRIGHTTENED GIANT was the term Belfrage used to describe his adopted country in the book he wrote about the events leading up to his deportation. The description never fit better than on Dec. 1.

Meanwhile, back in London, Belfrage booked himself via Madrid for Dec. 4.

"No nonsense at all in Madrid," he told us during the Havana call Dec. 5: "They looked at my passport, noted the stamps for the U.S.S.R. and so on, okayed it and sent me off. They just stamp your passport and you go right into town. I cruised around Madrid for several hours before my Cubana flight took off.

"Who would have thought that the good old U.S.A. would turn out to be stickier than the Generalissimo?"

So there it is: in spite of the Giant's fright, Belfrage is now in Havana and you will hear from him next covering the Revolution, just 90 miles from the Frightened Giant's doorstep.

—THE GUARDIAN

CEDRIC BELFRAGE: 6,000 MILES FOR A CHICKEN SANDWICH

My six hours behind the Cadillac Curtain

By Cedric Belfrage

LONDON, Dec. 2

EXPERTS HERE are still checking whether my transatlantic dash—London-New York-London in under 21 hours—is a record over the course. But it is thought almost certain that the U.S. witch-hunters will never surpass in sheer lunacy their performance at Idlewild yesterday.

As I explained to Idlewild's Immigration & Naturalization Service (INS) chief during my six hours behind the Cadillac Curtain: if my through ticket to Cuba was to be dishonored and my body shipped back where it came from, all that this could gain for the U.S. would be more rude noises from everywhere about those "free world" pretensions.

Nobody could prevent me from going to Cuba except the British or the Cuban government. My ticket had been issued a week before by an agent for Pan-American Airways, on the clear understanding that I was a banned banshee in the U.S. but that this didn't matter since transients required no visa. Most if not all other countries (even Franco Spain) had airport arrangements under which transients are not "processed" in any way but merely sat down for a beer or coffee. But now the world would know that anyone differing with the State Dept. on politics, or headed for a "subversive" destination, could not even be sure of spending two quarantined hours between planes on Liberty's sacred soil. Surely not the most brilliant overture to the new U.S. drive to attract tourists and to stem the dollar outflow . . .

"As a journalist, naturally I would tell it around the world," I said to the INS chief, who between burning up Washington wires paid brief visits to the room where I was held. "Of course we know that," he snapped. His combustion point was low, unlike that of the INS dogsbodies who sat with me in an affable small-talk marathon until the return plane to London was ready for the customers.

GUARDIAN READERS who have followed me through the storms will appreciate my emotion as the superb Pan-Am jet, which had soared from here at 11 a.m., swooped upon my once hometown at 2:15 p.m. New York time. Under a golden sun, the Atlantic was gorgeously blue through a silver lace of clouds. . . . From the Idlewild observation roof my wife, my fellow-founders of the GUARDIAN and my lawyer, who have stood by me so wonderfully, wave and smile and cheer. I almost feel I am home, and hope I may be allowed to embrace and talk with them but am not very sanguine.

The reception hall is an architectural dream, full of rarefied air and soft distant music, with officials waiting fresh-laundered at passport-checking points and exquisitely shaped and coutured hostesses tripping high-heeled over floors as hygienic as themselves . . . To my astonishment the visa-less transit passengers are directed through the same check-points as the others, instead of into a special lounge as would be the case anywhere else. At each INS checker's elbow lies a leather-bound, thumb-indexed volume the size of a medium city's telephone book. If you are in it—and I am surely there in the heaviest type—you have had it.

I have had it . . . What am I going to Cuba for? As correspondent for my paper. How long do I intend staying? I have no idea. The strains of "Hark the Herald Angels Sing" drift from somewhere—but so discreetly—as the official says "Just a minute, sir" and strolls to the Control Booth.

SOON I AM ALONE in the hall with the Herald Angels and a huddle of INS boys and hostesses around their chiefs, a small horn-rimmed man who telephones excitedly for instructions while flipping through the visas in my passport (U.S.S.R., India, Nepal, Israel). I am put in an office where everything rolls on silent wheels and a secretarial blonde admires raw-silk samples which her boss just received from Japan—"just a few cents a yard it costs over there, we got drapes of it in our apartment." A silk-kerchiefed Nisei hostess asks for my baggage check, saying: "I will get it for you, sir." (I don't see it again till hours later, when it has doubtless been fine-combed for bombs, cutlasses, etc.). Soon after 3 p.m. Jim Aronson suddenly appears, having wandered perhaps recklessly in search of me flashing a press card. He just has time to say, "We have got clearance to see you" when the Chief orders him out—and that is the last I see of anyone except INS officials.

. . . AND NEVER DARKEN OUR AIRPORTS AGAIN!

Cedric Belfrage at a shipboard press conference when he was deported in 1955

I am put in the office of some VIP (who never shows up) by the little Chief, who remarks en route there: "Well, it's kinda tough as you are some sort of international celebrity." It is a big, thick-pile-carpeted room with chartreuse leather chairs and two telephones to match. A heavyset man sits at the desk and keeps peering at me in silence. I peer back. My notion that I am before my judge fades out and I realize he is embarrassed and doesn't know what to say.

Proudly behind the desk hangs a benevolent Ike between Old Glory and the INS banner, both eagle-topped; and proudly perched on a stand beside the desk, the INS golf trophy held for 1960 by the never-seen VIP. And there I sit small-talking with what turns out to be one of the good rank-and-file joes, shirtsleeve-uniformed, such as I came to know on my last round with INS in 1955. We are on either side of a T-shaped conference table such as kolkhoz chairmen sit at in the U.S.S.R. to tell you how much the pig norm was overfulfilled. A hostess brings me a container of coffee and says: "That will be 15c." I give her my only dollar bill and receive brand new quarters shining with the word "LIBERTY" and a Roosevelt dime. I gather that the INS man voted for Kennedy—anyway he says, "I believe in democracy" and I say "me too," wondering just what meaning the word has for him. I tell him he'll have to be changing the picture on that wall soon and he seems to retreat into a shell saying: "I don't know anything about that."

A CUSTOMS MAN enters, carefully examines my new typewriter, palpating with his fingers at a little parcel inside it which he unwraps as if expecting it to explode. He inspects the cleaning brushes in the paper, wraps them again and zips up the case. My watch shows 4:35 . . . the Havana plane must have left five minutes ago. I look at the dime and think: "Poor FDR. Poor democracy." The INS man talks of the "suddenness" of air travel—"me, I'm going to take my wife on a cruise"—and I comment that no matter what transport you go on these days it's full of Germans.

"Yes," he says, "mind you, I like the Germans but still it's strange to think they acted as they did under Hitler." We agree that even Germans are people, but he retreats before my remark that all nationalities have a genius for not seeing or knowing what is dangerous to see or know . . .

After 5 p.m., I begin pointing out that I had my last meal (on the plane) at 8 a.m. New York time. He orders food for me but when he goes off duty around 5:30, and is replaced by two colleagues, it still hasn't come. The talkative one of this new pair starts the ball rolling with: "This'd be a fine setup for pinochle if we had a deck." I feel sleepy—how about a shot of bourbon? The two men are terribly sorry.

We talk about the weather and the city traffic problem and whether the English make better tea ("Look," says Talkative to his mate, "over there they boil the water, see?"); about the superior virtues of Chock-Full-O'-Nuts coffee over its competitors, belts vs. suspenders, the high price of Scotch ("Haig Pinch is tops for me"); about TV ("My uncle bought one, looked at it for two hours and called the store to take it back") and shark meat ("My brother caught a man-eater off Montauk—it looked just like a dead human body when he brought it in and my wife near died"). Winston Churchill's birthday is mentioned—it seems like a safe subject, but somehow we get on to Nye Bevan being Winnie's only parliamentary peer in the Opposition, and I refer to Nye has having been a socialist, so we are in the dirty words department and . . . "What do you pay in London for Dunhill pipes? . . . "Tell me straight now, do you really like warm beer?"

THE EMPHASIS on food and drink makes me wonder if this is a new form of INS torture, as it is 6:30 and still no food. I am sleepy but hear a voice droning on: "Well, if you came with your wife to dinner we'd have a big choice with our new deepfreeze—we get 15, 20 pounds of chicken when the supermarket has it on Special and the same with lamb legs." I say I'd very much like to come with my wife (who is still sitting not far off somewhere, waiting for nothing)—and the talk abruptly switches to Welsh rarebit: "Here that's melted cheese, but when I was over there in the war I ordered it and got rabbit — you know, the animal." Seven p.m., everyone else gone home and still no food for me—nearly 12 hours since lunch—"it'll be along any minute." I announce that if something hasn't been decided by 8 I shall be making a formal demand that the British consul be notified of my situation. "Don't worry, it'll be any time now . . ."

Enter a man with chicken sandwich, toothpick-speared through wax paper wrap, and container of tea. While I eat the sandwich the talk turns to typewriting: "Do you use the hunt-and-peck system like I do?" Long silence . . . they have given out of subjects. The talkative one, watching me munch: "Well, that's good, the inner man is satisfied." Me: "What I'm worrying about is the outer man." Smiles, silence . . . Desperately I tell of the book I just finished on Christopher Columbus, and quiz them on what they know about the man who started it all. The talkative one, vague but game to the last: "Didn't he land on Newfoundland somewheres? My daughter now, they tell her all about Marco Polo at school." A cue for the silent one: "Yes, he came back from China with spaghetti and fireworks you know." "Spaghetti?" The talkative one is incredulous. "Yes man—spaghetti."

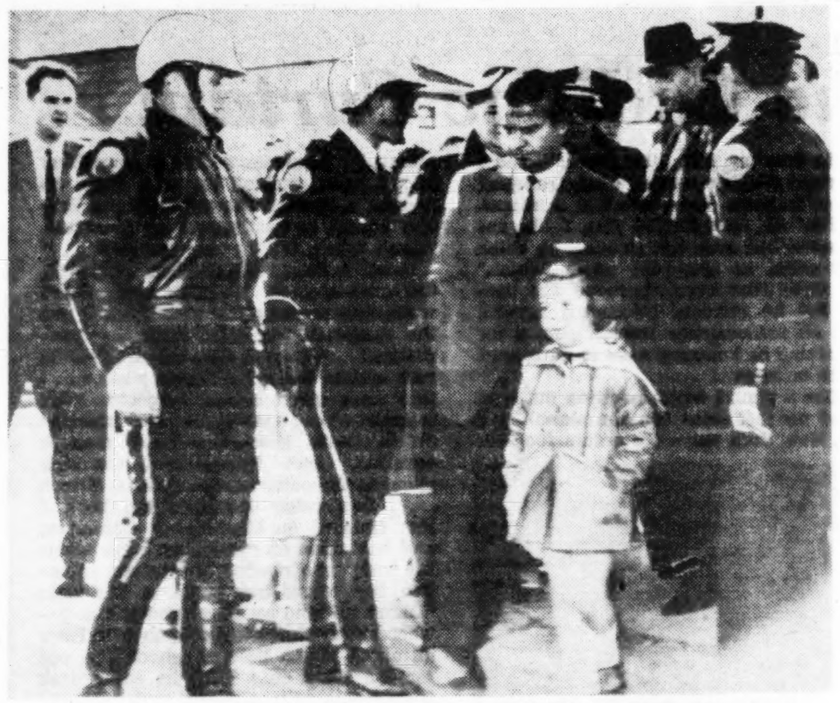
JUST AFTER 8 — my British Consul deadline—a new man suddenly enters holding out a red card. "When you get to London give 'em that for your suitcase," he says, and looks strangely at me when I say: "So you're throwing me out again." The man returns my Havana ticket with another one which says: "New York to London, non-refundable deportation, no fare collected." My two guardian angels take me by car through the darkness to the plane, put me aboard with warm handshakes, return my passport and wish me a pleasant trip. All I can think of to say: "I wish the United States was as friendly as you have been." A quick flash of lit-up suburbia as we zoom into the stratosphere with fastened seat-belts; a stewardess comes by with a drink trolley—at last that bourbon.

Six hours later I am back in London in the grey morning, by the fantastic ingenuity of the human race which can at the same time be so fantastically stupid. (For clues, consult Jesus, Marx and Freud—but don't mention Marx.)

I WENT TO NEW YORK—cross my heart and hope to die—with no plans to blow up poor old Uncle Sam. And had I been allowed to just sit in Idlewild for two hours—even with an FBI man on each knee to be sure I didn't atomize it—could any Congressional buffoon have made any more capital out of it than Joe McCarthy did out of exposing anti-Nazi American books in German libraries?

Whoever-it-was in Washington chose a course which can only add to the ribaldry of half the world about U.S. "freedom." But I want to be fair. It was a nice chicken sandwich that I flew 6,000 miles to eat—gooey with mayonnaise as they are only in America. (My only counsel is that the next back-where-you-came-from customer should be provided with an ample enough paper napkin to keep the mayonnaise droppings off that luscious carpet.)

It was a lovely airport, with impeccably clean toilets in which I feel confident I didn't pick up anything. And the INS dogsbodies are still nice joes—even if it is a mite maddening to be told, if you mention what alone is in your and their minds: "We're just the hired help around here — don't know anything, just carry out orders." One seems to recall something that happened in 1945 in a town named Nuremberg . . . But I absolve them absolutely of any suspicion of food-fantasy torture of a starving man. It was just that they couldn't think of anything else to talk about through those six hours—except sex, a subject for which they may have felt this was not the ideal setting.



THE LORD'S SERVANT NEEDS A POLICE ESCORT IN NEW ORLEANS
Rev. Andrew Foreman takes his daughter to school

New Orleans and integration

(Continued from Page 1)

view: "I felt at peace with myself. You know, I'd rather take a beating from a mob than from my conscience."

City officials were reported to be discussing protected bus transport for Negro and white pupils and the number of police at the schools was increased. Mayor deLessups S. Morrison asked for a conference with newsmen to set up "ground rules" for coverage since officials feel that publicity exhilarates and encourages the mob.

LEGISLATURE ACTS: The Federal courts have voided the legislature's hastily-passed segregation legislation and have issued more than 700 injunctions to balk moves by members of the legislature and other state officials. But the legislature has continued to pass bills designed to stop desegregation. In its latest actions it (1) attempted to replace the New Orleans parish school board and (2) provided for grants-in-aid for parents who wish their children to attend private schools. Earlier the legislature passed in the House, then tabled in the Senate, a bill accusing President Eisenhower and the Supreme Court of being part of a communist conspiracy.

Leader of the segregationists' maneuvers, Gov. Jimmie H. Davis, refused a number of subpenas and restraining orders, some of which were taped to tables and the floor of his office where they were dropped by Federal marshals. The court papers were covered with transparent plastic.

JUDGE WRIGHT ACTS: Consistently opposing the state's attempts to block desegregation, Federal Judge J. Skelly Wright ordered that the legislature's suit to unseat the present school board be heard in Federal court rather than in state court. He also ordered four New Orleans banks to show cause why they should not be enjoined from refusing to cash school board checks. The board has been unable to pay teachers since the legislature passed a resolution warning banks that school board checks were not valid. At one point legislators took over the school board's offices and funds, but Judge Wright ordered them off the premises.

Desegregation of New Orleans' Catholic schools was indefinitely postponed because of the illness of the Archbishop, a supporter of integration. Parochial school authorities were uneasy since the state provides free textbooks, hot lunches and bus transportation. There are 47,500 Catholic school pupils, including 9,000 Negroes, compared with 37,490 white public school students and 51,113 Negroes.

PLENTY OF ACTION: In support of the four little Negro girls the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) launched a petition campaign calling on President Eisenhower to intervene in New Orleans. The Fellowship of Reconciliation called for action telegrams to the President, President-elect Kennedy and Vice President Nixon. A group of Yale students wired Eisenhower: "We call upon you personally to lead the four Negro school children in New Orleans to their classes."

The Southern Conference Educational Fund asked for letters to the "New Orleans Four," c/o Attorney A. P. Tureaud, 1821 Orleans Av., New Orleans. The Fund's own letter to the children said: "Some day you and your parents will be honored for having played a major role in helping New Orleans take a big step forward toward a city based on brotherhood instead of hate." The children also got holiday greetings from 600 persons who signed a large card at a table on a street in New York's Greenwich Village manned by two Harvard students, Chester Hartman and Alan Gartner. Another card was sent by 700 Harvard and Brandeis students.

Elsewhere in the South in the past two months there have been sporadic sit-in demonstrations, picketing and arrests. Some gains were registered, but the overall picture was one of little progress.

GEORGIA: A surprisingly bright spot at the present is Georgia, which has been ordered to integrate its schools in 1961. In contrast with New Orelans, where the public tended to ignore the issue until it was sharply brought to its attention by segregationists in the state legislature, community discussions are already underway in Georgia. At a meeting Nov. 28 the Atlanta Chamber of Commerce opened a drive to rally the business community behind open schools. President Ivan Allen Jr. asked for a campaign at the upcoming General Assembly session for school laws providing for "freedom of choice, a pupil placement plan and local option."

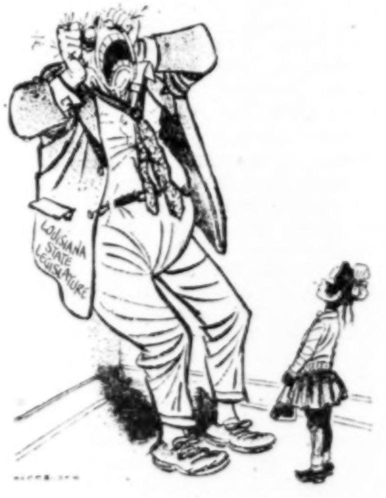
ARKANSAS: In Arkansas the voters turned down a constitutional amendment endorsed by Gov. Faubus to permit local authorities to close schools at their discretion. This would be regression in a state which has already accepted token integration. Opposed by parent-teacher associations, civic clubs and school boards, the amendment was defeated by 247,804 to 83,900.

In Little Rock more than 100 religious leaders met to form an organization to work for better race relations. Their purpose: to get Little Rock residents to "re-examine the collective attitude that their problem really has been solved." Rev. Colbert S. Cartwright accused the school board of using "cold war tactics" toward Negroes in white schools "in an attempt to let them know they still are deemed inferior."

At a Woolworth lunch counter Nov. 30 seven Negro students were arrested under an Arkansas law which permits the arrest of any person a policeman believes "might" incite a riot. One of the students, released on $2,000 bail, was given a six-months' sentence because it was a second offense. He had been arrested in March after a sit-in.

This is the picture in other Southern protest areas:

- **In Annapolis,** Md., there was a first anti-segregation demonstration Nov. 25: six pickets were arrested at a bus terminal restaurant. The manager swore out trespass warrants against the demonstrators and said he would maintain the ban on integrated eating even though several restaurants—including one across the street—were desegregated. Later he shifted: "If they beat the law, everyone will serve them. But if they are found guilty, I probably will serve them anyway. I know I'll suffer. I'm going to take the chance."
- **In St. Louis** the 350-member restaurant association approved a policy of integrated eating after Mayor Raymond R. Tucker assured them the city would not prosecute Negroes sitting peacefully in restaurants where they were denied service. Six large chains had already desegregated.
- **In Nashville,** Tenn., a Negro divinity student from Illinois and two white youths were arrested when fighting broke out at a restaurant sit-in. Seven lunch counters in downtown Nashville are desegregated.
- **In Jackson,** Tenn., where 144 Negro students from Lane College have been arrested as a result of sit-ins, it took only two days (Oct. 14-16) to integrate the city bus system. Ten days later the sit-ins began at Woolworth's and white hecklers threw eggs, sprayed insecticides, then dragged Negro students out of the store. Negro students placed an advertisement in the Jackson **Sun** headlined: "An Appeal for Freedom and Rights and Dignity: God Knows No Color Line."
- **In Oklahoma** City, Sumter, S.C., and East St. Louis, Ill., there were sit-in arrests. In Hartsfield, S.C., two leaflet distributors were arrested. The leaflets said: "Don't buy from Kress until they serve all customers at their lunch counters."
- **In Mississippi** a Negro father's life was threatened after his 12-year-old daughter returned from a two-day stay in the hospital following a beating by the Batesville, Miss., city marshal. The girl, accused by a variety store manager of having stolen candy, was first slapped by the manager, then hit by the city marshal with his blackjack. The state's NAACP field secretary, Medgar Evers, received a contempt of court citation because he called the sentencing of a college student to seven years in prison for burglary a "gross miscarriage of justice." Earlier the student had tried to enroll at a white college.
- **In Lexington,** Ky., four lunch counters and six restaurants were desegregated and Negroes got jobs for the first time in supermarkets and a drug store. Lexington members of CORE are now conducting drive-ins at a drive-in restaurant and stand-ins at a motion picture theater. In a recent visit 19 Asian and African journalists refused to cross the theater picket line.
- **In Louisville,** Ky., city planner Marshall L. Kaplan was fired for talking with a store manager about integrating its eating facilities.
- **In Jacksonville,** Fla., Federal Judge Bryan announced he will order desegregation of all the city's public recreational facilities and give the city 30 days in which to comply. In another victory the NAACP has announced that nine Negro bus drivers have been hired. They will not be restricted to Negro sections of the city. Sit-ins continue at downtown store lunch counters.
- **In Fayette and Haywood** counties in Tennessee Negroes faced a hard winter. Hundreds who voted Nov. 8 have been evicted; many have left the area. A Negro leader said: "The idea of the landowners is to get the Negro population to dwindle so that we won't be a majority. Don't ever lose sight of that fact."
- **In Raleigh, N.C.,** Gov. Luther H. Hodges, slated to become Secretary of Commerce, commuted 15-day sentences of six Greensboro Negroes arrested in 1956 for trespassing on a lily-white golf course. The Negroes must pay $7,000 court costs.



Herblock, Washington Post
"Help!"

UNTIL CHRISTMAS: In support of demonstrations the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, organization of Southern sit-in leaders, announced a nationwide "Christmas Shopping Withholding Campaign." It called for demonstrations up to Dec. 24, picketing and the distribution of "Freedom Cards" asking supporters of the boycott to wear old clothes and refrain from buying new clothing or gifts.

The Southern Christian Leadership Conference announced a nationwide boycott of Greyhound, against which a $9,000,000 suit was filed by SCLC secretary Rev. Fred L. Shuttlesworth, Birmingham, Ala., civil rights leader. Rev. Shuttlesworth's suit, in behalf of his daughter, Patricia Ann, resulted from her arrest last August after she refused to leave a front seat of a Greyhound bus while traveling from Monteagle, Tenn., to Birmingham. The boycott will seek equal employment and the desegregation of travel and terminal facilities.

A PETITION *to President Eisenhower*

DEAR PRESIDENT EISENHOWER:

December 15 will be the 170th Anniversary of the ratification of the Bill of Rights. At this very moment, in New Orleans, there are organized attempts to deprive four young Negro girls of their constitutional rights. We urge you to use your moral leadership to call upon the people of New Orleans and of Louisiana to accept school integration quietly and peacefully.

NAME	ADDRESS	CITY	STATE

Please return to Congress of Racial Equality, 38 Park Row, New York 38, N.Y. by December 14. We shall attempt to present this petition to the President Dec. 15.

THE EROSION OF THE FIRST AMENDMENT

Black's historic dissent in Willard Uphaus case

Following is the major portion of the text of the dissenting opinion of Supreme Court Justice Hugo Black in the case of Dr. Willard Uphaus. The Court, on Nov. 14, divided 6 to 3 in dismissing the pacifist leader's most recent appeal. Justice Black was joined in his dissent by Chief Justice Earl Warren and Justice William O. Douglas. Dr. Uphaus, 70, is scheduled to be released on Dec. 13 after serving in full his one-year sentence but, as the Black dissent emphasizes, there is a danger that he might be imprisoned again on a new charge of contempt.

I THINK the summary dismissal of this appeal without even so much as the benefit of oral argument, when the abridgment of the rights of free speech and assembly is so obvious, is a sad indication of just how far this Court has already departed from the protections of the Bill of Rights and an omen of things yet to come. Such retrogression, of course, follows naturally from the Court's recent trend toward substituting for the plain language of the commands of the Bill of Rights elastic concepts which permit the Court to uphold direct abridgment of liberty unless the Court views those abridgments as "arbitrary," "unreasonable," "offensive to decency" or "unjustified on balance," for these concepts reduce the absolute commands of the Constitution to mere admonitions. I think it is time for all who cherish the liberties guaranteed by the Bill of Rights to look closely at the disastrous consequences upon those liberties which have resulted from the Court's use of such concepts. In my mind, the present case graphically illustrates those consequences when it is stripped of the ambiguous legal formulations which have been imposed upon it and considered in the context in which it actually arose—the conduct of Dr. Uphaus as an individual.

HE IS A CITIZEN of this country by birth Throughout the nearly 70 years of his life, evidently from early boyhood, he has been a deeply religious person. The record shows his active membership in and official service for various Methodist churches in the communities where he has lived. The value of that membership and those services is attested by affidavits filed by the pastors of those churches. The record further indicates, without dispute, that he is a man whose life has been dedicated to the principles of his religion. He holds a degree as a Doctor of Theology. He taught religious education at Yale University and was associated with the Religion and Labor Foundation for a number of years. Over the years, his religious faith manifested itself in an increasing opposition to war. It was this belief which led him, in 1952, to become the Director of World Fellowship, Inc., a summer camp operated, he says, in the interest of promoting the ideas of pacifism.

JUSTICE HUGO BLACK
It is time to count the cost

ALMOST IMMEDIATELY upon his arrival at World Fellowship, Dr. Uphaus came under the fire of an investigation being conducted by the Attorney General of New Hampshire, apparently on the theory that World Fellowship was frequented by "subversive" persons. Eventually, as the Director of World Fellowship, he was called before the Attorney General to testify. At the very outset of the hearing before the Attorney General, he expressed a complete willingness to answer any question concerning himself, including any views he might hold or any actions he might have taken with regard to any subject. In addition, he expressed a willingness to give the Attorney General any information which might be wanted in regard to the subject matter of any speeches made at World Fellowship. But he absolutely refused to give the Attorney General: (1) a list of the nonprofessional employes of the camp; (2) a list of all the guests who had stayed at the camp; and (3) his personal correspondence with the speakers who had appeared at the camp. Upon being met with this refusal, the Attorney General sought a court order requiring Dr. Uphaus to produce these items.

AT THE RESULTING hearing, the court, apparently viewing the request of the Attorney General for the names of the camp's dishwashers and floor sweepers as totally unreasonable and being uncertain as to the legal amenability to subpena of the correspondence, ordered Dr. Uphaus to produce only the names of the guests. This, Dr. Uphaus persisted, he could not do, resting his refusal upon the following reasons, to which he has adhered throughout this long ordeal: (1) because "by the direct teachings of the Bible . . . it is wrong to bear false witness against my brother; and inasmuch as I have no reason to believe that any of these persons whose names have been called for have in any sense hurt this state or our country, I have reason to believe that they should not be in the possession of the Attorney General"; (2) because "the social teachings of the Methodist Church . . . condemn guilt by association"; and (3) because "I love this document [the Bill of Rights] and I propose to uphold it with the full strength and power of my spirit and intelligence."

NONETHELESS, the order to produce was upheld and Dr. Uphaus was imprisoned for his failure to comply with it. As a result, he has been in jail since last Dec. 14 under a judgment which sentenced him to imprisonment for one year or until such time as he would comply with the order to produce. His plight, however, is even worse than would normally be indicated by that sentence in that there can be no assurance at all that he will be released at the end of the year specified. The Attorney General of New Hampshire insists, notwithstanding the recent legislation reducing his powers, that he has a right to continue all investigations presently pending, and the Supreme Court of New Hampshire apparently agrees with him. This Court, by its action today, necessarily takes the position that this serious abridgment of the rights of free speech and peaceable assembly does not even raise a substantial Federal question. As a result, it is entirely possible that Dr. Uphaus will be subjected to new questioning and forced into a new "contempt" as soon as he serves out this year's imprisonment.

THE BRIEF filed by the Attorney General of New Hampshire makes it appear that he has every intention of doing just that. Thus, a distinct possibility exists that this man who, at least so far as these records show, has never committed a single crime, nor even so much as an immoral act, faces imprisonment for the rest of his life. This simply because he has refused to violate his religious principles and sacrifice his constitutional rights by disclosing the names of those with whom he has peaceably assembled to discuss public affairs in this country.

DR. WILLARD UPHAUS
"His plight is even worse . . ."

In this respect, the predicament of Dr. Uphaus may be likened to that of the defendant in the famous **Sheriff's Case** before the House of Lords in 1767. There the City of London sought to prosecute a religious dissenter for refusing to serve in the office of sheriff as required by its by-laws. The defense was that the Corporation Act would have made it a crime for a dissenter to serve in that office for it required an oath from all office-holders that they had taken the sacraments of the Church of England within the year. The dilemma of the dissenter was vividly described by Lord Mansfield in stating his views on the case:

"Make a law to render them incapable of office; make another, to punish them for not serving . . . if they accept, punish them; if they refuse, punish them; if they say, yes, punish them; if they say, no, punish them. My Lords, this is a most exquisite dilemma, from which there is no escaping; it is a trap a man cannot get out of; it is as bad persecution as the bed of Procrustes: If they are too short, stretch them; if they are too long, lop them."

THIS TECHNIQUE of putting unorthodox groups into a position where their only real choice is between various alternative punishments (a technique the prevalence of which today extends far beyond the borders of New Hampshire) is strikingly similar to that being utilized here against Dr. Uphaus. If he testifies, his friends will suffer; if he refuses to testify, he goes to jail. The dilemma is truly one "from which there is no escaping" for a man who, like Dr. Uphaus or like the religious dissenter in the **Sheriff's Case,** cannot bring himself to sacrifice either his religious principles or his legal rights.

That case also serves to highlight a most unfortunate aspect of the decision in this case. For there, nearly 200 years ago and in England where there was no Bill of Rights, the House of Lords refused to countenance the use of that technique. They held it to be inconsistent with the Toleration Act by which Parliament had guaranteed religious freedom even though the terms of that guarantee were far less sweeping and more limited in application than the absolute commands of our First Amendment In my view, the majority's disposition of this case, reducing as it does those absolute commands to mere admonitions, means that our First Amendment amounts to something less as a charter of freedom than England's Toleration Act was held to be. This in the very face of the indisputable historical fact that one of the primary reasons for the establishment of this country was the desire of early settlers to escape religious persecution.

I DO NOT SUGGEST, of course, that this imprisonment of Dr. Uphaus is without precedent in history. Indeed, I am painfully aware that there are a multitude of such precedents extending from many centuries back in the past and continuing forward in an almost unbroken line to the present day. There is, for example, the case of the Puritan minister John Udall in 1590, a case which bears a strong similarity to that of Dr. Uphaus. Udall was called before a court in connection with the investigation of the authorship of certain religious tracts which, in the words of one of the judges, "tend[ed] to the overthrowing of the State, and the moving of Rebellion." The court sought to force Udall to disclose the identity of other Puritans so that it might question them as to the authorship of the tracts.

In refusing to divulge the demanded names, Udall gave his reasons in a statement not unlike that of Dr. Uphaus before the New Hampshire court. "I will take an oath of allegiance to her majesty, wherein I will acknowledge her supremacy according to statute, and promise my obedience as becometh a subject; but to swear to accuse myself or others, I think you have no law for it." Udall, like Dr. Uphaus, was sentenced to jail for civil contempt under a judgment which ordered his imprisonment until such time as he would consent to testify. But such coercion was as ineffective in that case as it has been to date in this. Udall's dauntless spirit was never broken even though his body was. He died in prison within a few years.

IT WOULD not be difficult to point out many other cases such as that of Udall, but I will content myself with one other. Some 70 years after John Udall's experiences, there was a dissenting preacher in England named John Bunyan. He was arrested for preaching and efforts were made to get him to agree not to preach any more. He refused to be coerced into silence. The result was that he was put through a kind of trial and sentenced to prison for holding "several unlawful [religious] meetings . . . to the great disturbance and distraction of the good subjects of this kingdom . . ." In Bunyan's case the imprisonment lasted 12 years, and it was during those 12 years that he gave to the world **The Pilgrim's Progress. . . .**

My guess is that history will look with no more favor upon the imprisonment of Willard Uphaus than it has upon that of Udall, Bunyan or the many others like them. For this is another of that ever-lengthening line of cases where people have been sent to prison and kept there for long periods of their lives because their beliefs were inconsistent with the prevailing views of the moment. I believe the First and Fourteenth Amendments were intended to prevent any such imprisonments in this country.

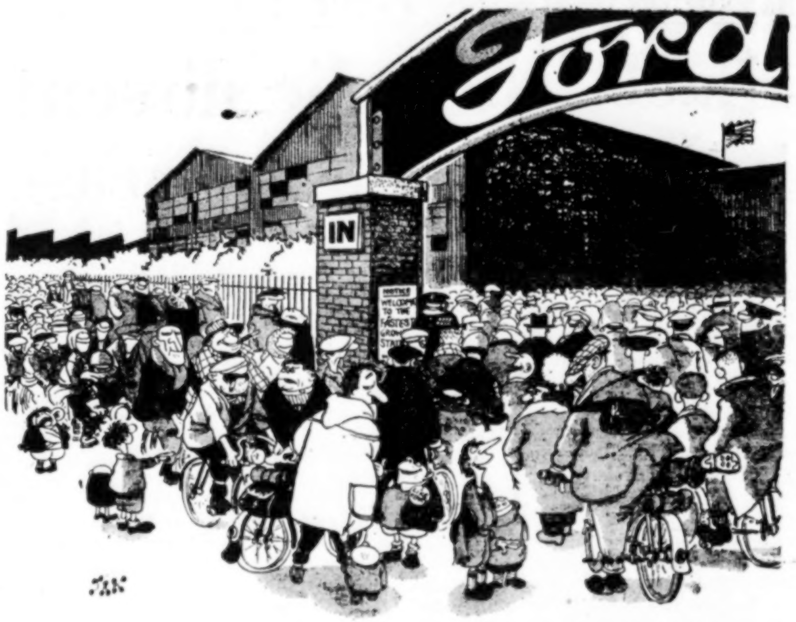
THE GROUNDS urged by the Attorney General of New Hampshire here are, as shown by the cases of Udall and Bunyan, precisely those that have always been urged for throwing dissenters in jail, namely, that they are a menace to the community and it is dangerous to leave them free. It may be true, as the Attorney General of New Hampshire suspects, that Dr. Uphaus has at some time been in the company of Communists, or that the people who have been in his camp have been in the company of Communists. But even if it is true and those associates are as bad as they are suspected to be, it is my belief that our Constitution with its Bill of Rights absolutely forbids the imposition of pains and penalties upon him for peaceably assembling with them . . .

JOHN BUNYAN IN PRISON
"He refused to be coerced . . ."

BATTLE OF TWO EMPIRES

Ford grab at British plant stirs Kingdom

By Robert E. Light



JAK London Evening Standard

"Got any gum, chum?"

BRITISH CAPITAL and labor joined in an outcry last month as the long arm of American business reached out to grab a new share of British industry. A move by the Ford Motor Co. of Detroit to buy up outstanding shares of its British subsidiary, Ford of Dagenham, at above-market prices, evoked futile protest throughout the isles.

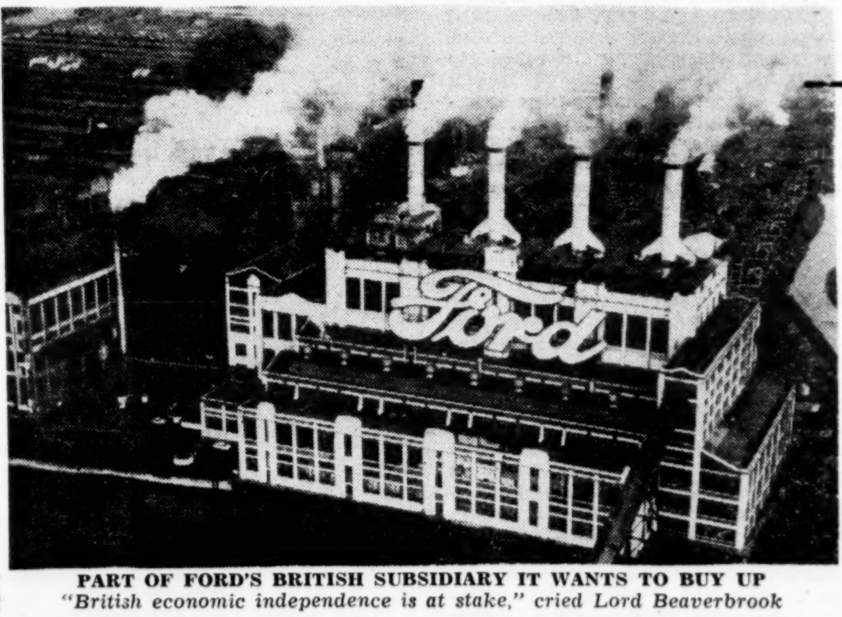
British auto workers saw it as a threat to jobs. Capital found it a blow to national pride; besides the price was low. Her Majesty's government found sufficient solace in the dollars that would flow into the country to approve the deal. Britain, so long the imperialist, seemed to find it hard to reconcile to a new status as an economic colony of U.S. business.

The British puzzled over Ford's motives and tended to see them in purely British terms. The move was better explained as a classic case of capital moving to where it could get the greatest returns. Europe is the car market of the near future and Ford is maneuvering to guarantee itself a lion's share. For auto workers in the U.S., Britain and in other countries where Ford owns plants the move boded rough times.

CAREFUL TIMING: Ford set off the furor Nov. 14 when it offered to buy up 17,718,009 outstanding shares of the Dagenham subsidiary at 145 shillings ($20.50) a share. The market price of the shares is 91 shillings. U.S. Ford already owns 54.6% of British Ford and the new move requires approval of the British government.

Ford's announcement hit Britain at a touchy time. The auto industry is in a depression, partly because U.S. compact cars have cut into the British export trade. Some 70,000 British auto workers are on a short week; about 3,000 have been laid off.

More than 1,000 auto workers demonstrated at Parliament Nov. 15 to urge action. They asked the legislators to lower the 50% purchase tax on new cars and ease restrictions on credit buying. They urged the industry to seek new markets; some proposed trade with China.



PART OF FORD'S BRITISH SUBSIDIARY IT WANTS TO BUY UP
"British economic independence is at stake," cried Lord Beaverbrook

Ford's move increased the tension. Ford of Dagenham is the second largest auto manufacturer in Britain. It accounts for about one-fourth of the country's auto, truck and tractor production. It employs some 50,000 workers. After the take-over announcement, Dagenham employes went on a one-day strike, ostensibly because one man was transferred to a new job.

DEPLORABLE EFFECT: A hot debate ensued in Commons, with Conservatives joining Laborites in demanding to know if Chancellor of the Exchequer Selwyn Lloyd had approved the Ford deal. Labor MP Maurice Edelman predicted that "the effect on the British car industry will be deplorable. Employment will be controlled from Detroit, not from Dagenham."

Laborite John Parker, representing Dagenham, asked for an investigation of Ford's motives. He suggested that British shareholders were pressing for markets in Europe and the U.S. in competition with other Ford cars. Another Laborite, Emrys Hughes, said: "The Americans already have bases in this country and now they seem quite prepared to take over the whole country."

Conservative MP J. Langford-Holt asked for assurances that British Ford would be allowed to trade "in the same way as other British companies." He said he feared the U.S. government would bring pressure on British Ford to prevent it from selling tractors to China. Lloyd answered: "If political issues arise in the future, they will have to be decided by governments rather than by companies."

AN AFFAIR OF HONOR: Newspapers took up the cry for Britain's honor. The London **Daily Express** said editorially: "The bid . . . must be defeated . . . The British Empire comes before the Ford Empire."

Lord Beaverbrook's London **Evening Standard** headlined its story: "Kill this sell-out . . . British economic independence is at stake." An editorial said: "Should Britain surrender economic independence, she would also lose political freedom of action."

The **Financial Times** also opposed the move, but it added that Britain is too deep in foreign investments herself "to succumb to mere nationalism." It cautioned that if the offer were turned down, Ford might switch attention to its West German subsidiary.

The London **Times** suggested that the government ask Ford for a statement of motives, policy and intention before approving the bid.

In an apparent answer, Henry Ford II announced that the take-over would not affect British Ford adversely. He said: "One of our major objectives is to achieve greater operational efficiency and greater marketing effectiveness in both countries." He added that management would continue under Sir Patrick Hennessy and existing plans for expansion of British Ford would not be changed.

LONDON TEA PARTY? The statement seemed to satisfy Lloyd. He approved the move on Nov. 21. "To have done otherwise," he said, "would in my judgment be a grievous mistake. I believe the United Kingdom has a paramount interest in the freest possible movement of capital."

Laborites sought a formal debate in Parliament but they lost, 256 to 160. MP Parker predicted that if Ford used its position to the detriment of Dagenham workers, there would be a Boston Tea Party in reverse. 'We will have the American interests thrown into the Thames."

U.S. Secy. of the Treasury Robert B. Anderson also had some misgivings because the deal would ship dollars abroad and add to the U.S. gold crisis. He suggested to Ford that some of the payment be made in pounds which the company has accumulated in Europe. Ford would make no commitment, but it was understood that Lloyd had approved the deal on the understanding that it would bring dollars to England.

THE AMBASSADOR'S ARM: If Ford's move upset the British, it was well understood in American financial circles. They also understood the British reactions. They recalled similar furors in 1956 when Texaco bought British-owned Trinidad Oil and in 1959 when Reynolds Metals tried to buy British Aluminium. Reynolds finally settled for sharing British Aluminium with Tube Investments, a British company.

Lacey L. Kux, whom the New York **Herald Tribune** described as "a Wall Streeter, specializing in foreign investments," said that taking over another country's car industry "is like cutting off the ambassador's arm; it has the capacity for inflaming nationalistic passions."

Other "Wall Streeters" saw Ford's move as a belated attempt to catch up with General Motors' overseas operations. GM long ago foresaw the foreign market potential. It built and bought subsidiaries around the world, each of which it owns outright.

GM owns Vauxhall cars and Bedford trucks in Britain, Opel cars and trucks in West Germany, and Holden cars in Australia. It also has assembly plants in Brazil, South Africa, Pakistan and Australia, and a truck manufacturing unit is planned for Argentina.

SHIFT OF PRODUCTION: GM sold 711,000 cars and trucks overseas in 1959 and expects to sell more this year. Last year, for the first time, car and truck production overseas exceeded that in the U.S. Of the 13,900,000 vehicles built, 6,700,000 (48%) were built in the U.S.

GM's foreign investments total $1,350,000,000 and GM chairman Frederic Donner announced that the company will spend another half-billion in the next two years. He also pointed out that the number of cars in Western Europe since 1950 has increased from 5,000,000 to 19,500,000. He predicted that by 1970 there would be an annual demand for 8,000,000 cars and 2,500,000 trucks.

American manufacturers are also certain that the Common Market nations (West Germany, France, Italy, Belgium, Luxembourg and The Netherlands) will reach agreement with the European Free Trade Area countries (Britain, Spain, Portugal, Greece, Sweden, Norway and Denmark) to reduce tariffs and make imports easier.

THE ADVANTAGES: The New York **Herald Tribune** (Nov. 20) explained why GM likes to own its subsidiaries outright: "GM management considers that the advantage of operating without foreign stockholders generally outweighs any political problems accruing to 100% ownership of a foreign asset. The company is able, for example, to channel production from one affiliate to another when market conditions dictate, a maneuver that can draw protests if foreign owners have to be consulted."

Ford has always had considerable foreign holdings but it did not own 100% of the stock in all. This sometimes led to intra-mural competition. At the Hamburg trade fair in October, for example, Ford of Dagenham had an exhibit in competition with Ford-Werke, the West German subsidiary.

Last year Ford decided to remodel its organization on GM lines. It extended its stock control of Ford of Canada from 56.8% to 74.8%. The bid for Ford of Dagenham was a second step.

HAVE A COKE: Henry Ford II said that the take-over of British Ford would give the company "a product position and a cost position which should enable us to compete effectively throughout the world." These are some of the advantages:

- Costs overseas are much lower than in the U.S. British auto workers earn less than half what their American counterparts get.
- Import tariffs and quotas are bypassed.
- Production can be "rationalized"—one model at each plant. Ford now produces three compact cars: Falcon in Detroit; Zephyr in Dagenham; and Taunus in West Germany.
- In the event of a prolonged strike in any of the countries, it can export cars from another plant. The threat of such a move also gives the company a bargaining edge with the unions.

Ford's take-over at Dagenham leaves Britain with only one major domestically-owned manufacturing company, British Motor Corp. More and more of British industry is becoming owned outright or in part by American firms. There are 400 U.S. subsidiaries or Anglo-American companies valued at £1,000,000,000. They employ 4% of the British labor force. Each year £70,000,000 are sent to the U.S. in dividends.

In every room in a British home, the American way of life is represented by Yankee brand names: Elizabeth Arden, Max Factor, Revlon and Toni on the dressing table; Brillo, Frigidaire, Kelvinator and Johnson's Polish in the kitchen; Bristol-Myers, Gillette and Dr. Scholl in the bathroom; Coca-Cola, Kraft, Libby's and Quaker Oats on the dining table and Yale locks on the front door to keep it all cozy and safe.

DEAL WITH DIXIECRATS SOUGHT

Senate leaders move to kill reform of rules

The present rules of the Senate are obsolete, unworkable in the modern world, and a real danger to our American form of government . . . The program of the next President will be wrecked in this body unless we make major changes in our own rules and procedures . . . They are stacked against the people of the United States. —Sen. Clark (D-Pa.), **Congressional Record**, July 1, 1960

By Russ Nixon
Special to the Guardian

WASHINGTON

SQUELCHING of liberal Senators and restoration of conservative-Dixiecrat control in the Senate goes ahead rapidly as President-elect Kennedy, Vice-President-elect Johnson and House Speaker Rayburn prepare for the opening of the 87th Congress on Jan. 3. It is clear that the Democratic leaders are determined to suppress all moves of revolt or reform in Democratic ranks and avoid a party split by appeasing the Southern Congressional opponents of the liberal platform adopted at the National Convention in Los Angeles last July.

It is widely expected that, in actuality, Vice President Johnson will continue to boss the Senate Democrats just as he has done as Senate Majority Leader. This should not be difficult, since his own hand-picked lieutenant, Majority Whip Mike Mansfield (Mont.), is slated to become Senate Majority Leader in 1961. Mansfield has carefully kept clear of the liberal bloc in the Senate while courting support of the Southerners. He would be no match for Johnson in a contest for actual Senate leadership. Instead, Mansfield is likely to be the perfect cover for Johnson's dual role as Vice President and Majority Leader.

Democratic Congressional leadership will now consist of two Texans, Johnson and Rayburn, and two Catholics, Mansfield and House Majority Leader John McCormack (Mass.).

POST FOR SMATHERS: Sens. Hubert Humphrey (Minn.) and George Smathers (Fla.) are slated for Democratic leadership roles, respectively as Majority Whip and Secretary of the Senate Democratic Conference. Smathers is a young unreconstructed Dixiecrat who came to the Senate in 1950 after a racist, red-baiting smear campaign against New Dealer Claude Pepper. He is a close friend of both Kennedy and Johnson, and will take the position held by the late liberal Sen. Thomas Hennings Jr. (Mo.).

Humphrey's appointment as whip is considered a gesture to the Senate liberals. Its significance is blunted by the fact that it undercuts the efforts of other Senate liberals to have whips named from each major geographical section and thus to broaden Senate Democratic leadership. The new Humphrey role apparently was approved by Sen. Richard Russell (D-Ga.) Senate Dixiecrat leader, who conferred with Kennedy before the Mansfield-Humphrey - Smathers selections were made known.

Just before being named, Humphrey pulled the rug out from under liberal plans to change Senate Rule 22 to eliminate the filibuster. He urged that plans for an opening day fight to amend Rule 22 be postponed indefinitely. The filibuster, whether actually used or merely threatened, is the main weapon by which a Senate minority prevents a Senate majority from voting—not only on civil rights legislation but often on other liberal measures.

DOUGLAS' STAND: Four days earlier, in the Washington **Post**, Sen. Douglas (D-Ill.) wrote that "the rules fight at the opening of Congress . . . is the most practical and essential key to unlocking the handcuffs that keep the Senate from acting. It goes to the very substance of what the new Administration can win from the new Congress—on economic as well as civil rights measures. Why should the new President not use his undoubted powers in support of such essential rules reforms, which may in turn be the key to success for much of his program?"

Douglas also emphasized that action to end filibusters must be taken on the opening day of Congress. He said: "In the past 60 years, the only liberalizing changes in the Senate filibuster rule have come at the start of a new Congress . . . Once the old rules are in full force, the filibuster roadblock bars both liberal legislation and rules changes. History shows it is folly to wait . . . "

Humphrey, an old hand at pleasing the NAACP on the platform and the Dixiecrats in the clinches in the Senate, pulled his rug just as it was becoming apparent that Kennedy did not plan to push civil rights legislation in 1961, but had decided to limit himself to executive actions during his first year. Chances of effective legislative action even in 1962 will be slim with the filibuster remaining. These developments would be consistent (1) with the commitments believed to have been given Southern politicians in return for support for Kennedy in the election, and (2) with plans to assure Dixiecrat support for the Administration on issues other than civil rights.

SENIORITY SYSTEM: Some Senators, particularly Clark, Douglas and William Proxmire (D-Wisc.) are pressing a strong fight for general reform of both formal Senate rules and methods of determining Democratic policies and tactics in the Senate.

Clark and Douglas have advocated that the seniority method of naming Senate committee chairmen be qualified to exclude Senators who do not "support the party platform in the legislative area dealt with by their respective committees." This would eliminate Sen. James Eastland (Miss.) who opposes the Democratic Party platform on civil rights, over which his Judiciary committee has jurisdiction. It would remove Sen. Harry F. Byrd as chairman of the Senate Finance Committee, since he opposes Democratic policy on virtually every issue coming before that committee. The Clark-Douglas plan would not disturb the seniority-based chairmanships of Dixiecrats like Russell, who opposes his party's policy on civil rights, but supports it on matters coming before the Armed Services Committee which he heads.

SENS. SMATHERS AND HUMPHREY
Both are slated for key posts

Clark would also remove from Senate Democratic policy councils Democratic Senators who opposed the Kennedy-Johnson ticket. This would affect Byrd, Strom Thurmond (S.C.), and Spessard Holland (Fla.). It would not affect Eastland, for example, since he campaigned for Kennedy.

BYRD CONFIDENT: Byrd has challenged Clark to attempt to oust him. The Virginian, who opposed the national Democratic ticket in 1952, 1956 and 1960, and who has consistently voted in the Senate with the Republicans, apparently feels confident that the Democrats will again welcome him and make him head of the powerful Finance Committee which deals with taxes, tariffs, social security, unemployment compensation and medical care for the aged. Byrd's confidence is probably justified since his ouster and Eastland's would require support of Senate Democratic leaders. The New York **Times** (Dec. 4), thought this "unlikely."

In February, March and April, 1959, Proxmire delivered a series of unusual speeches in the Senate attacking Johnson for his failure to follow democratic procedures in the affairs of the Senate Democratic delegation. He charged that the Majority Leader had undermined the Senate caucus or "conference" by meaningless and infrequent meetings; that party policies and tactics were not democratically determined in the Senate; that responsibility to the Democratic platform was being violated. Most liberal Senators were afraid to join the Proxmire attack at that time.

The make-up of the key Senate Democratic Policy Committee illustrates the mechanics of undemocratic control. The nine committee members in the past Congress were Johnson, chairman, Theodore F. Green (R.I.), Carl Hayden (Ariz.), Hennings (Mo.), Lister Hill (Ala.), Robert S. Kerr (Okla.), Mansfield (Mont.), James B. Murray (Mont.), Russell (Ga.). Three of the five non-Southern members were limited by old age (Green was 93, Hayden 83, Murray 86). While eight states were represented, four were Southern and the others were small, with Montana represented twice. Unrepresented were the large industrial states.

TEN RESOLUTIONS: To correct this, Clark and other liberals urge reconstituting both the Democratic steering and policy committees so they "will fairly represent both the major geographical areas and the differing ideological views of Senators." They want the Democratic Conference or caucus to meet regularly and frequently, and by full and free debate to formulate policy and tactics.

Clark has also introduced ten separate Senate Resolutions to democratize the rules. They would expedite Senate procedures in various ways, completely eliminate the filibuster, and require that "Senate conferees represent the prevailing view of the Senate in matters in disagreement with the House." Conferees are appointed by the House and the Senate to iron out differences in bills passed by both. Problems have arisen when the appointed conferees have been Senators who voted with the minority in the Senate, and who have used their conferee status to reassert the minority position and counter the majority of the Senate.

For example, in March, 1959, the Senate voted 52 to 32 to liberalize the House bill liberalizing temporary unemployment compensation. But four of the five Senate conferees on this bill had voted with the minority against the bill. They established the minority position in the final bill. Clark's proposal has been endorsed by Humphrey, O'Mahoney (D-Wyo.), Javits (R-N.Y.) and 15 others.

DEAL SOUGHT: The platform of the Democratic Party adopted last July makes a clear and unequivocal pledge to reform Congressional rules and procedures "to safeguard majority rule." Nonetheless Kennedy and other Democratic leaders have decided not to make a fight on this and seek instead to make a deal with the Southern bloc against which any such reforms would be aimed.

Whether the Senate liberals will press their fight remains uncertain in view of the Kennedy-Johnson-Rayburn opposition. More importantly, it is uncertain how much of the liberal domestic pledges of the Democrats in the last campaign will be realized under these circumstances.

MINE-MILL AGREES TO ELECTION

Coeur d'Alene strike move

THE MINE, MILL & Smelter Workers Union of the Coeur d'Alene district agreed Nov. 22 to a National Labor Relations Board certification election Dec. 10. On the ballot with Mine-Mill will be the newly-organized Northwest Metal Workers Union, strongly suspected of having been founded and supported by funds supplied by the hardrock mining companies.

A union meeting of 1,000 approved the action of its officers after attorney Nathan Witt noted that testimony before the NRLB hearing officer indicated beyond doubt that the new union could not meet Federal qualifications for a legitimate bargaining agent. But, he said, legal action would delay contract negotiations for months, and "we are interested in collective bargaining to bring about a settlement of this strike. The fastest method of doing this is to lick this imitation union in an election and remove the last excuse of the company [Bunker Hill] to genuine collective bargaining."

The union has been on strike since May 5 and has held firm in the face of severe economic privation, hostile actions by the state government of Idaho, and provocation by imported "experts on communism." The source of funds for the lecturers has not been disclosed.

The union is sorely in need of financial and clothing help as winter sets in. Contributions should be sent to Coeur d'Alenes Local 18 Strike Committee, P.O. Box 939, Kellogg, Idaho.

There's still time to spread cheer

GENEROUS CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE MINE-MILL STRIKERS in Coeur d'Alene, Idaho, have been received from many **GUARDIAN** readers in response to our appeal. Five crates containing nearly 100 fine winter overcoats, purchased by funds received, have already been shipped to the Strike Committee as well as substantial cash contributions.

The need, however, is still urgent, and we hope to ship five more crates as cash contributions are received, and the Committee still needs money to pay rent and to buy food and medicines. Help if you can. Enclose the coupon below with your contribution. All contributions will be acknowledged by the Strike Committee. **Make Checks or Money Orders Payable to The National GUARDIAN, 197 E. 4th St., New York 9, N.Y. Be sure they are clearly marked for the Mine-Mill Strike Fund.**

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Enclosed is my contribution of $ . . . . . to the strike fund.

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BOOKS

The clear voice of Cuba

CUBA'S VOICE today is "a voice of the hungry-nation bloc," says C. Wright Mills, professor of sociology at Columbia University, "and the Cuban revolutionary is now speaking—most effectively—in the name of that bloc. What the Cubans are saying and doing today, other hungry people in Latin America are going to be saying and doing

C. WRIGHT MILLS
He recorded the message

tomorrow .. In Africa, in Asia, as well as in Latin America, the people behind this voice are becoming strong in a kind of fury they've never known before."

This quotation appears in the first paragraph of Mills' book, **Listen, Yankee,*** and sets the tone for what follows. Mills went to Cuba last spring with a reputation as a searching sociologist (author of **White Collar, The Power Elite** and **The Causes of World War Three**) and with a deep understanding of the accelerating revolutionary current in the world. Like Leo Huberman and Paul Sweezy, co-authors of **Cuba: Anatomy of a Revolution**, he was profoundly impressed by the vitality of the Cuban revolutionaries. He was as profoundly disturbed by the blackout and distortion of the facts about Cuba in the American press.

Mills had long sessions with Premier Fidel Castro and his colleagues in Cuba, traveled freely and widely and was given full access to information and experience by Cubans close to events. Cuban leaders told him everything they knew and felt; they trusted him because they had read his previous books. "The voice of Cuba today," he came to believe, "is the voice of revolutionary euphoria."

TO CAPTURE and convey the buoyancy, anger and worry, and also the reasonable tone pervading the Cuban revolutionary argument, Mills has written his book in the form of eight letters through which the Cubans speak to the Yankees. He has set the scene in a prelude and has made his own comments in a postlude. In these letters, Mills says, "most of the words are mine but the arguments, the tone, the interpretations, the tang and feel—they are in the main directly Cuban." He has succeeded eminently, so that what might have been just a stunt, has become instead an eloquent and lucid document.

The letters begin with a brief history of Cuba, from Spanish rule through U.S. political and economic domination to the successful revolution and the remarkable achievements of the Castro government against incredible odds. The letters vividly recreate the era of U.S. support of dictators, the merciless exploitation of Cuba's resources and people, the corruption of the small Cuban middle class and the stark poverty of most of the nation.

They note that Castro first came to the U.S. in the hope of economic cooperation but was cold-shouldered. Only then did he turn East and obtain swift economic and technical aid from the socialist countries. After a year and a half of the Castro government, homeless Cubans have clean and comfortable shelter; starving Cubans are enjoying a balanced diet; children are going to school; illiterate youth are saved from delinquency by special training in schools in the Sierra Maestra, and a varied economy is rapidly replacing former dependence on one export crop.

RED
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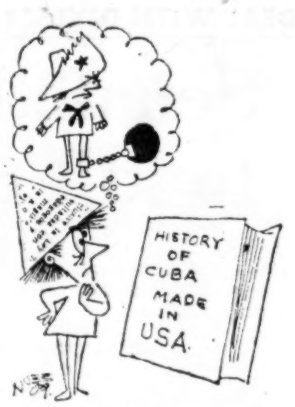
RED
R.J.

CUBANS ARE NOW able to say: "We . . . are traveling a road no people of the Americas had ever traveled before." They can tell the Yankees: "Some of us have begged from you; we were hungry, you see. But know this: that's over; we are not going to do that sort of thing again, ever." They can say to the Americans that "the Sino-Soviet bloc is a solid fact of world history" which will not "just fade away"; that they find socialist achievements in a generation or two "in many ways attractive. In our bellies, we mean." And they can assert:

"[The socialist] countries are with us and they are against the Yankee monopolies and the Yankee government [and] we do need help, if only in dealing with you . . . We are going to take the help we need from whoever will give it to us . . . or you will try hard to starve us out. And you are 200 times richer than we, and God knows how much more powerful."

Mills writes: "Let me say at once that the Cuban argument presented in these pages, I find on the whole compelling." He sketches conditions in other Latin American countries, discusses why revolutions, even in a country like Mexico, have not been altogether for the benefit of all the people.

PLACING the Cuban revolution in the general context of Latin America, he says it is unique because (1) the land reform in Cuba is far more thorough, rapid, and successful than Mexico's or Bolivia's; (2) in Cuba "the vicious role of the traditional military apparatus in political, social and economic life . . . has been totally and suddenly smashed—and with it the dominant economic powers"; (3) "the Cuban revolution has swiftly destroyed the economic basis of capitalism . . . with a thoroughness unique in Latin American history"; (4) "Cuba's economic success—due primarily to her successful and intelligent agrarian reform, and helped at a decisive juncture by her economic agreements and trading with Soviet-bloc countries—makes Cuba impregnable to effective economic blockade or pressure from U.S. interests."


HISTORY OF CUBA MADE IN USA

The U.S. can prevent other Latin American countries from emulating Cuba, Mills says, only if a drastic change in policy leads Washington "to actively help Latin Americans destroy the vested interests inside their own countries as well as the vested interests of U.S. corporations now operating in these countries." But "given the character of the political economy of the U.S. today." Mills does not expect such change. What he and the Cubans worry about most is "counter-revolution" backed by massive U.S. aid. The Cubans warn that they will fight against this to the last man.

LOOKING at the Cuban picture as a whole, Mills writes: "I am for the Cuban revolution. I do not worry about it, I worry for it and with it . . . The policies the U.S. has pursued and is pursuing against Cuba are based upon a profound ignorance, and are shot through with hysteria . . . If they are continued they will result in more disgrace and more disaster for the image of my country before Cuba, before Latin America and before the world."

—Kumar Goshal

LISTEN, YANKEE, by C. Wright Mills. 192 pp., including bibliography. McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 330 W. 42nd St., New York 36; hard cover, $3.95. Paper bound, Ballantine Books Inc., 101 Fifth Ave., New York 3, N.Y., 50c.

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'COMMUNISM AND THE CHURCHES'

The clergy in our society

The following review is excerpted from a report on Ralph Lord Roy's Communism and the Churches, *the latest in the "Communism in American Life" series sponsored by the Fund for the Republic. The report was issued by the Religious Freedom Committee, the chairman of whose administrative committee is Rev. William Howard Melish.*

RALPH LORD ROY'S book* presents a review of the 40 years from the outbreak of the Russian Revolution in 1917 to the beginning of the Khrushchev era. During this period, it attempts to detail the participation of the clergy of the United States in social, economic and political causes, the wisdom of which it questions.

It is a large book, equipped with elaborate footnotes and a bibliographical essay listing correspondence and interviews between the author and individuals mentioned in the text, which give it an appearance of comprehensiveness and authority. Examination, however, discloses that it is not free of errors of fact and errors of omission; more important, serious questions of interpretation are raised.

Mr. Roy is not insensitive to the possibility that his book may discourage the participation of the clergy in social issues. He seeks to place the blame upon an extremist few who have rendered more difficult the position of the middle-of-the-road clergy who would like to be liberal without discomfort. Whether he so intended it or not, **Communism and the Churches** ends up essentially a hatchet-job, in sophistication and restraint only a cut above the publications of the House Committee on Un-American Activities or the Senate subcommittee on Internal Security.

Serious readers will examine Mr. Roy's basic premises. On their validity must rest any final value-judgment as to the merits of his book. In this review, we find ourselves compelled to question at least three.

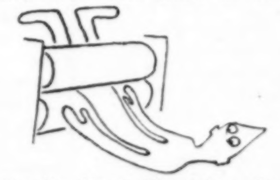
MR. ROY STATES: "Implicit in this study is the conviction that Communism is hostile to the ideals of both religion and American democracy. Little attempt is made here to justify this viewpoint . . ."

But it is precisely this viewpoint that requires examination. Mr. Roy's assumption that communism is totally evil unfortunately carries with it a built-in verdict of guilt directed against every clergyman who has participated in any way in activities for human betterment in which communists had a part.

This is far too sweeping a basis for judgment and condemnation. Competent Christian scholars in this and other countries have found some ethical values common to both Marxism and the Judaeo-Christian ethic, and have stated that these aspects of Marxist thinking constitute a challenge to Christians to live up to their own Gospel.

New ways of thinking, involving the ownership and application of productive forces in a technological society, are spreading around the globe and influencing hundreds of millions of people. We have experienced two devastating world wars. We face the possibility of nuclear disaster. For some decades, a growing number of Christians, as well as men and women of other religious and ethical convictions, have been sincerely struggling to find the path that leads to human survival and social fulfillment.

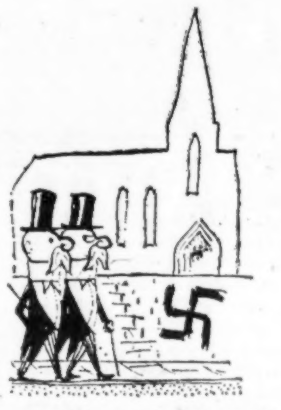
SUCH PERSONS share at least this one belief—the path to the future cannot be found through blind rejection of every aspect of this new thinking but through some contact with it and some sifting of the wheat from the chaff in concrete situations. There is a danger in the identification of this honest intellectual and ethical search for answers with some alleged "international conspiracy." The result could well be to rob the churches and clergymen of all freedom to explore and come to grips with changing reality.



Mr. Roy's second premise is that, throughout this period of 40 years, almost every social movement of a critical and creative character in American life has been the brain-child of the Communist Party, privately conceived and then dressed up for public consumption in the seductive guise of what he calls indiscriminately "communist fronts." This contention is irresponsible and dangerous.

Surely there have been issues in American life crying for solution that good men and women have been unable to evade: the protection of the foreign-born, the defense and extension of civil liberties and rights, the place of armaments in our economy, atomic weapons and tests, and the issue of war and peace. If, as Mr. Roy suggests, all such agitation has stemmed solely, or even primarily, from the communists, they must be supermen, which they obviously are not; and the American public must consist of dolts, which it does not. That the communists may have initiated some movements, and taken control of others, may be true—but to involve them decisively in every social and moral issue throughout the last four decades is to impugn the moral conscience and the ethical sensitivity of the American people in a manner that ought to be resented.

A THIRD PREMISE of Mr. Roy's book requires similar assessment. In words that parallel some of the bland assertions of J. Edgar Hoover and the House Committee on Un-American Activities, Mr. Roy implies that any defense of the civil rights of communists is proof of communist complicity and sympathy. There is no admission whatever of the possibility that, under the American form of constitutional government, the Bill of Rights was intended to apply to every citizen. Freedom of speech, press, assembly, petition, religion, are not rights applicable only to those with whom the majority at a given moment happens to agree but the possession of all, including those who may be in the minority, who no longer believe in the finality of monopoly enterprise, and incline towards some alternative and socialist solution. It is grossly one-sided and untrue to assume, as this book repeatedly implies, that any clergyman who defends the constitutional rights of a communist, or the Communist Party, is ipso facto a communist.



Dyad, London Daily Worker

"Let's cross to the other side of the road old boy."

What has been said should be sufficient to point up the fundamental, and quite possibly fatal, limitations of this book as a serious study. It is the work of a journalist, in a field and on a subject that require the scholar, the thinker, the social historian, the moralist and the theologian. Mr. Roy is no one of these. His is surface-writing against the background of the most profoundly changing and revolutionary period in recorded history.

That a book on so important a subject and with such obvious limitations should be published with the imprimatur of the Fund for the Republic is no credit to that organization, or to the distinguished clergymen whose uncritical blurbs on the outer jacket commend it to the reading public. This is not serious sociological history or analysis. By immature and inadequate handling of a theme crucial to the moral witness of the churches and synagogues in a changing world, Mr. Roy has committed a disservice. This is not a book that will strengthen the moral, philosophical or theological basis of the free society that is the alleged objective of its sponsor, and the ultimate dream of all humanity.

**COMMUNISM AND THE CHURCHES, by Ralph Lord Roy. Harcourt, Brace and Co. 429 pp., with bibliographical essay and index.*

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Latin America story

(Continued from Page 1)

More and more people are becoming aware that popular discontent in Latin America is not initiated in Moscow, Peking or Havana. New York **Times** correspondent Tad Szulc, for instance, on Dec. 4 attributed it to "the poverty of the hemisphere's masses." Sen. Mike Mansfield (D-Mont.) said (**Times, Dec. 4**) that "social structures of many nations of the region are seriously out of date and . . . do not deliver enough education, enough food, shelter and clothing, enough medical aid, enough of the conveniences that are taken for granted in this country and are relatively commonplace in Western Europe and even in Soviet Russia."

THIS IS THE PICTURE: In his book, **"Listen, Yankee"** (see p. 8) C. Wright Mills draws a panoramic picture of the Latin American masses: two-thirds are undernourished; 50% are illiterate and suffer from infectious or deficiency diseases; two-thirds are in semi-feudal conditions of work; nearly all exist under one-crop export economies perilously dependent on the fluctuations of foreign markets; two-thirds of their land is controlled—and often misused—by native oligarchies and foreign corporations; their economy is dominated by foreign capital—largely U.S.—invested in extractive industries; their transportation systems are confined to moving raw materials from inland to coast rather than for the development of internal markets; they are subjected to repeated commercial and military interventions from outside and to political domination by feudal oligarchies and military domination by inflated armies.

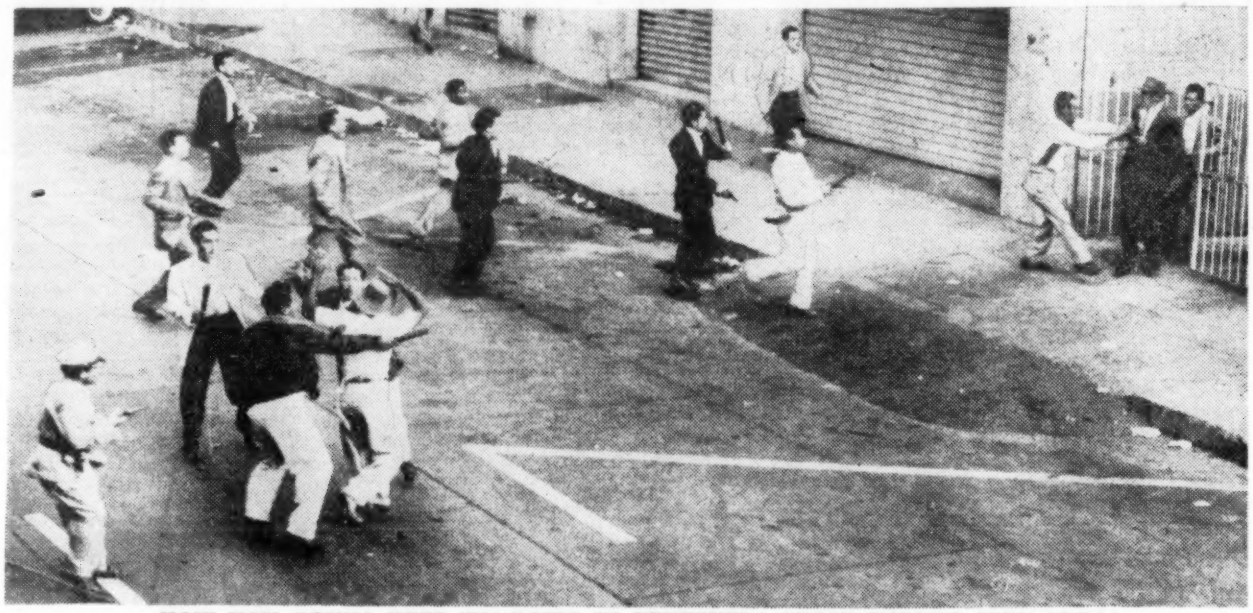
Never get caught

AFTER A SPEECH at San Francisco's Commonwealth Club, Lyman A. Kirkpatrick, CIA Inspector General and Allen Dulles' second-in-command, was asked from the floor: "Prof. Hilton of Stanford University says that there is a CIA-financed base in Guatemala where plans are being made for an attack on Cuba. Prof. Hilton says it will be a black day for Latin America and the U.S. if this takes place. Is this true?" After a long pause, Mr. Kirkpatrick replied: "It will be a black day if we are found out."

—The **Nation**, Nov. 28

Mills sums up: "Latin America is enormously rich—in soil, timber, oil, all the metals, the chemicals; it is rich in virtually everything men need to live well. Yet in this plundered continent there exist today some of the most hopelessly impoverished people in the world . . . 'Democracy' in much of Latin America is largely a facade tolerated by the army, a ceremony displayed on due occasion."

THE ARMY THE KEY: Only in three countries has the army—the backbone of reaction—been smashed by revolution and attempts made at land reform: Mexico, Bolivia and Cuba. And one country, Venezuela, is cited by the U.S. as an example of "progress by democratic method" to be emulated by the rest of Latin America.



HOW YOU GONNA KEEP 'EM DOWN IN VENEZUELA AFTER THEY'VE SEEN CUBA?
Plainclothes police joined the army in breaking up demonstration in an earlier uprising in Caracas

But the Mexican revolution is virtually stalled, Mills notes, and its "old revolutionaries have become enriched political capitalists" who are "full of revolutionary rhetoric" but who have found "revolution" a highly profitable business. (In Cuba, people of their kind, who wished to overthrow Batista for their own enrichment, have been deserting Castro on the ground of anti-communism.)

The Bolivian government is also marking time, gingerly considering a Soviet offer to build Bolivia's first smelter so that it can turn out finished products. At the same time, the **Wall Street Journal reported** (Dec. 1), the U.S. is offering the Bolivian Mining Corp. a $10,000,000 loan, characteristically attempting to discourage acceptance of the Soviet offer and making the loan contingent upon being used only to improve mining methods. U.S. officials were said to be "confident the present Bolivian government will be satisfied with the more practical course of improving its ore processing."

CRISIS IN VENEZUELA: In Venezuela, the Betancourt government has shelved basic land reform while it maintains, as Mills says, "seven different police forces; a huge over-paid bureaucracy; and inflated armed forces equipped with expensive gadgets like supersonic fighters (a nuclear submarine is on order)." Oil accounts for 90% of Venezuela's foreign income, provides 63% of its government revenues, but employs only 3% of its labor force.

In industrial development, the oil industry has led to what the Mexican economist Edmundo Flores calls "a chrome-plated dead-end." Unemployment is swelling, Betancourt is holding a great sheaf of unpaid bills and is soliciting U.S. loans, as **Mills notes,** "with all that this entails in social and economic stagnation."

Times correspondent Szulc diagnosed Venezuela's case as "a psychological crisis of confidence." But Sen. Mansfield had a different explanation: "The slum dwellers of the Latin American cities and the poverty-stricken villagers of the hinterlands alike have heard the message from this country, from Europe and from Soviet Russia. [They] are now persuaded that a stoic suffering of misery or repression is not a virtue [and are searching] for leaders capable of bringing about such change."

THE CUBAN EXAMPLE: Castro supplies them with example and inspiration, because his government alone has not only smashed the Batista army but has also completely uprooted the foreign and domestic bases of economic exploitation and carried through agrarian reform without compromise. He has at the same time demonstrated that such measures need not bring economic collapse nor cause severe hardship for the masses.

He has thus fired with enthusiasm, for instance, 43-year-old Francisco Juliao, a lawyer turned leader of the snowballing Peasant League in northeastern Brazil, whose 20,000,000 inhabitants have for centuries been condemned to subhuman misery.

The U.S., with a singular lack of imagination, continues its attempt to counter Cuba's example by more of the same measures that have contributed to the Latin Americans' misery.

It extends more loans to shore up inefficient or tyrannical governments. It plugs for greater U.S. private investment in Latin America in extractive industries. It sends gunboats and marines to buck a tidal wave of revolution, and builds a guerrilla training base at Helvetia, while the Ohio Oil Co. reportedly builds another in Chinaja, both in Guatemala. It tries to discredit Castro by calling him a "Communist" and a potential aggressor against his neighbors, while it builds up and finances the fantasy of Castro's overthrow by counter-revolutionaries. It fires from Cape Canaveral, Florida, a satellite-launching rocket in the direction of Cuba, which blows up and scatters parts on eastern Cuba. A cow was killed.

IT DOESN'T WORK: Washington's strategy is not working. The naval might sent to the Central American coast in the name of protecting Guatemala and Nicaragua seems really to have been a test for creating a blockade around Cuba; Hanson Baldwin said (**Times, Nov. 20**) that it may "serve as a precedent" for such action. Private U.S. investors seem strangely reluctant to pour more capital into Latin America. And **U.S. News** reported (Dec. 5) that "anti-Castro people in Central America are becoming apathetic. They may eventually decide Castro is the winning side—and join him."

And Havana University students on Dec. 4 marched in front of the U.S. Embassy, accompanied by several cows and a bull. The students shouted: "Cuba, yes, Yankees, no." The cows carried placards that read: "The Cow is accused by the U.S. of being a Communist agent." The bull wore a sign reading: "If you continue killing cows, you will have to face us: the bulls."

YES there will be a EUROPEAN TOUR next summer!

Don't make any plans to visit Europe and the U.S.S.R. next summer before hearing about the GUARDIAN trip. It'll be a budget-priced tour of the Soviet Union and a yet undetermined number of other countries, making the most of the GUARDIAN's special facilities in each capital. Details will be announced in January. In the meantime, hold tight—wait and go with friends.

Hoffa and Bridges speak at Oakland meeting Dec. 12

JAMES HOFFA, president of Teamsters Union, and Harry Bridges, president of the Intl. Longshoremen's & Warehousemen's Union, will speak at a public meeting in Oakland Civic Auditorium, Dec. 12, at 8 p.m. Theme of the meeting will be **"Where is Labor Going?"**

The Teamsters and the ILWU have been successfully cooperating in joint organizing drives and negotiations on the West Coast. The meeting is sponsored by Local 70 of the Teamsters Union. Admission is free and the public is invited.

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Hugo Black, John Bunyan & Uphaus

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CALENDAR

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FLORIDA

Attention: Miami, Miami Beach, Hollywood, Ft. Lauderdale, **FLORIDA! Prof. Scott Nearing** will lecture on "Can the U.S.A. afford Peace?", Sun., Dec. 18, 8 p.m. sharp, at Jewish Cultural Center, 429 Lenox Ave., Miami Beach. Sponsor: Emma Lazarus Jewish Women's Club. Don. 75c.

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DRAMA CLUB begins Nov. 10. Classes for beginners. Interviews Wed. and Thurs. 7-9 p.m. Small fee. Studio 200, 1151 Bway., bet 26-27 Sts. Bill Reed.

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Wed., Dec. 14, 8 p.m., at 683 Allerton Av., Bronx. Auspices: National Council American-Soviet Friendship.

Fri., Dec. 9, 8 p.m.
DR. CLARK FOREMAN SPEAKS
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THE GALLERY

THE BRITISH ARE AS AWARE as any that cold war politics makes queer bedfellows, but the Tory government's latest affair with the West Germans may be more than the Anglo-Saxon morality code will bear. Under a secretly negotiated deal, West German soldiers will use British bases and training facilities next year. These include airfields, the Hebrides missile range, tank-testing grounds in Bovington, Dorset, and supply depots in Northeast England. The last time German soldiers were on British soil it was as prisoners of war.

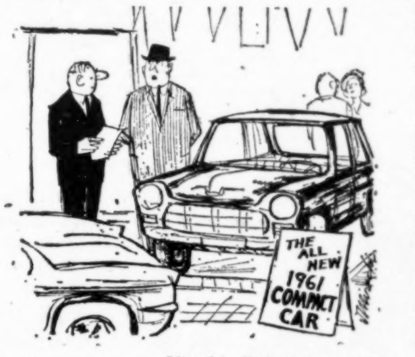
The deal was a year in the making. In August, 1959, West German officials, with the help of NATO's American commander Gen. Lauris Norstad, made approaches to Spain, Britain, France, Norway and Denmark for bases and training sites. The West Germans argued that if they were to supply the bulk of NATO's land forces, they needed more training room. Only Britain resisted strongly.

The West Germans laid it on the line: If British arms manufacturers wanted West German orders and if British industry did not want to be frozen out of the West German-dominated Common Market, the British government had better go for the deal.

Chancellor Adenauer and high ranking West German generals visited Britain during the year to press their case. At a NATO meeting last March, British Defense Minister Harold Watkinson argued that the West Germans did not need so many foreign bases because a nuclear war would only last 30 days. The West Germans countered that it would last 90 days.

Britain capitulated last month and a formal announcement of the deal is expected at the NATO meeting in Paris this month. Anglo-Saxon morality runs deep and it is hoped that the British people will not hold still for their government's adultery.

WHEN THE UNITED ARAB REPUBLIC's deputy delegate to the UN, Rajik El-Asha, was hit by a car in New York, hearing nerves in both ears were severely injured. Hearing aids allowed him to continue in his job. But last month his hearing was restored to almost normal by surgery performed by Dr. Samuel Rosen, an eminent surgeon. Dr. Rosen is now in Cairo where he is expected to visit UAR President Nasser. Rosen visited Nasser twice before. The New York surgeon has performed half a dozen operations on Nasser's friends, including cabinet members. During the last visit Nasser expressed his gratitude for "coming here to help my people." Rosen answered that he was "pleased but surprised because I am a Jew." Nasser replied: "That makes no difference . . . People like you make the best ambassadors." Rosen is on his way to Sudan with his wife, Helen, an audiologist, and five other ear specialists to study the hearing capacity of the Mabaan tribe, which has never been exposed to loud noises. Rosen hopes to check on how much the loud noises of modern society impair hearing . . . The GUARDIAN's Kumar Goshal will be heard in a 15-minute news commentary on FM station WBAI (99.5) in New York on Tuesday, Dec. 20, at 7 p.m. The program will be repeated the following day at 10 a.m.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Mirachi, Wall Street Journal

"Yes, but where does the car stand status wise?"

THE FUROR OVER THE INCOMING Administration's affinity for British tailors has died down, but for a while it threatened to rock NATO. Rep. Thomas M. Pelly (R-Wash.), sniping at the Democrats, criticized Vice President-elect Lyndon B. Johnson for ordering five suits from a Savile Row tailor in London "at a time when it's important to the stability of the American dollar to hold down purchases from abroad." Other Republicans circulated the rumor that President-elect Kennedy also favors Savile Row. Kennedy's press secy. Pierre Salinger stepped in to assure all that the President-elect shops mostly at H. Harris & Co. in New York. London was also upset with Johnson—but only on sartorial grounds. It seems he ordered 3-button, single-breasted business suits with double vents in the back. "Double vents are definitely for sports suits," a Savile Row cloak and suiter said. Apparently in England they don't carry a wallet in each back pocket . . . A stripteaser calls herself "Popsie Kennedy." . . . On the elections, Bob Hope said on TV that "Nixon doesn't know whether to concede or convert." . . .

—**Robert E. Light**

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Siqueiros jailing protest in N.Y. Dec. 10

The Mexican Consulate in New York will be picketed on Sat., Dec. 10, from 10 a.m. to noon, to protest the continued imprisonment of Mexico's leading artist, David Alfaro Siqueiros. A petition for his release will be presented by a group of artists. The Consulate is at 8 E. 41 St.

A MAIL ORDER SERVICE OFFERING CONSUMER-TESTED MERCHANDISE AT A SAVING

GBS GUARDIAN BUYING SERVICE

A Roundup of Holiday Gifts

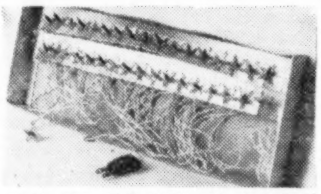
IT IS FASCINATING TO SEE the pattern of **GBS** orders at Holiday time. Some offerings become "hot," while others—some equally good bargains—remain forlornly on our shelves. By far the biggest seller this year has been the Soviet watches (which are expected from Moscow any day!) More than 100 have been ordered, and we've decided to make them a year-round item. The four **UNICEF** greeting cards are also a solid hit and we're happy that all the profit goes to the world's needy children.

The "opticals" (binoculars, opera glasses and microscopes), "soft goods," books and records have all been popular items, but readers have avoided tape recorders, transistor radios, electric shavers, jewelry and photographic equipment. You've ordered the Picasso cards, dolls, and the Museum prints in big quantities, but our 3-piece stainless steel carving sets, maps and travel irons remain on the shelves.

Here—with just 10 shopping days to go before Christmas—is a round-up of good Guardian gifts you may have overlooked. Order **now** to assure delivery for Christmas.

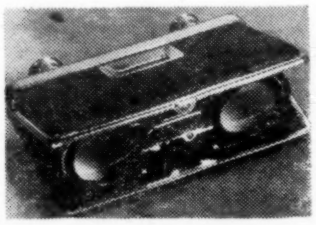
Christmas Tree Light Sets

Here's an extraordinary buy: lovely, miniature Italian-made Christmas tree light sets. These are permanent lights, guaranteed for 2,000 burning hours. If one light goes off the rest remain burning. All contacts are weatherproofed for indoor or outdoor use. Bulbs are cool in operation and may be pinned to any fabric, or scotch-taped to any surface without danger. 35 light sets on a 50-foot cord weigh only 1½ oz. and draw just 15 watts!



STAR SET—Little 7/8" gold stars inset with miniature white lights. 35 lights on 50-ft. cord. Boxed. Per Set $5.95

POINSETTIA SET — 12 lovely 2" Poinsettias, each set with a tiny white light. If one fails, rest stay lit. Per Set $5.95



A Few On Hand . . .

Selling Out!

Last Christmas we sold more than ten dozen of these compact, folding opera glasses for $2.25. We have just three dozen left, which you can have for $1.50 each. 2½ power, fold to cigarette case size, fine for children $1.50

GUARDIAN BUYING SERVICE
197 E. 4th St., New York 9, N. Y.

Description of Item	Amount

(N.Y.C. buyers add 3% sales tax)

TOTAL

Orders filled only in the U.S.

No COD's Full payment must accompany each order. Please make checks or money orders payable to Guardian Buying Service.

Name ....

Address ....

City .... Zone ... State ..

When ordering items in color, always specify second color choice.

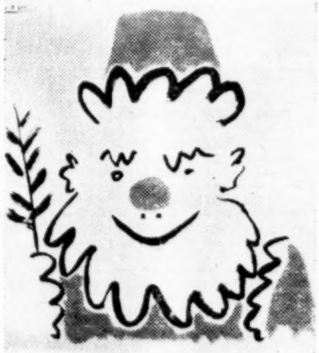
NEWSPAPER

GBS Stays Open!

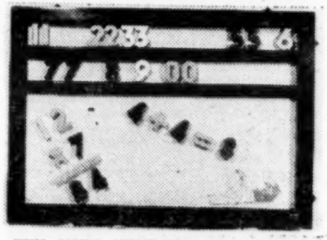
In response to many requests GUARDIAN BUYING SERVICE will remain open Sat., Dec. 10, from 9 a.m. till 12 noon to accommodate local shoppers. Come on down and do your Holiday shopping.

1961 Engagement Calendar

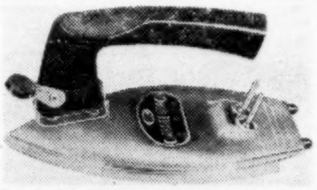
24 full color reproductions of famous art works bound in a handsome 6" x 8" engagement calendar. Printed on high quality stock with two full pages for each month, plus name and address section in the back. A fine gift item for just $1



PERE NOEL—The Guardian's own "Father Christmas" on heavy 5'x7" card stock in three colors, with Season's Greetings at the bottom. Eight cards and envelopes $1
2 sets $1.75; 3 sets $2.50; 4 sets for $3; 5 sets $3.50 Postpaid.



FUN WITH NUMBERS (Ages 6 to 8) Magnetic Arithmetic Board (14"x20") with 3-dimensional, brightly colored polyethylene numbers and symbols with built-in permanent magnets. Addition, subtraction, multiplication and division become easy and interesting. A child guidance toy. $2.95
Set B—Spelling game............. $2.95



An indispensable travel companion! 110V, 250W travel iron, with folding handle which locks rigidly in place. Comes with plastic, moisture-proof case, and 6-foot U. L. approved cord. $2.95

the SPECTATOR

Why Cissie did it

It is easier to understand what motivates the Southern Negro student who takes part in sit-in demonstrations against the unreason of discrimination than to know what makes a Southern white protest. Below are excerpts from a report by Margaret (Cissie) Leonard, a 17-year-old white co-ed, giving her reactions to a sit-in at a New Orleans lunch counter in October and her arrest and police interrogation.

I WENT TO WOOLWORTH'S white lunch counter and ordered a ham sandwich, a piece of cake, and a glass of milk. The waitress served me, I paid her, and sat there drinking water until Anna Mae Giles and Kermit Moran came behind me. Then I got up, picked up my raincoat from the chair opposite me, and Anna Mae and Kermit sat down and ate the food.

I went to the back (Negro) counter then and sat down next to Edward Myers Jr. who had ordered a piece of pie and milk. I asked a Negro man behind the counter if he would serve me a piece of chocolate cake. He just pointed to the waitress but she never did take my order. The man next to me pushed his pie in front of me and I just started eating.

Nobody said anything to me, but everybody was looking. Also, bells had started ringing as soon as I had left the white counter and rang the whole time. Some man asked the waitress if the Negro had bought me the food. She said she didn't know, but that she had served him. I was getting pretty tired of that apple pie.

I got up to leave. About halfway to the door, a woman took my arm and asked me to go with her. She took me to the front counter where Anna Mae Giles and Kermit Moran were still sitting and told us she was a policewoman.

WHILE TWO NEGRO CORE members and I were being held by police near the Woolworth exit awaiting a police car, several policeman talked to me. One of them asked if I was a Southern girl. I said yes, I was raised in Macon and Atlanta, Georgia. Then he asked how come, as a white girl from the South, I was engaging in this kind of action. I replied something about wanting to demonstrate how I feel about racial discrimination. He said he realized that, but why did I feel that way. I just said I always had felt that way.

They led the three of us out of Woolworth's past a lot of staring people and put us in a car to go to the police station. When we got to the station I was questioned first. The police were very nice to me, and I was very nice to them too. They asked me how I got in CORE and how the demonstration was planned. I told them about the afternoon we planned it and all the details.

Anna Mae had told me to tell the truth, and I was eager to appear well-bred and cooperative and morally law-abiding. They asked if I had received any money from CORE, and also if I thought CORE was trying to make money. I said no, of course not, to both questions, and that I thought CORE needed money retty badly.

They wanted to know why I, a Southern girl again, would do such a thing if they didn't give me money. That seemed sort of absurd to me, but I said something about wanting to demonstrate how I felt about discrimination.

However, they expressed surprise that I am a student at Newcomb—in addition to being an authentic Southern girl. I was pleased that they couldn't categorize me as some "Yankee rabble-rouser."

THEY ASKED ME whether I dated much and when I said no, they wanted to find out why. I felt like saying "None of your business," but I figured they were trying to picture me as some kind of misfit, so I continued answering earnestly and politely.

At one point a policeman asked what Africans had ever accomplished in art, science or literature. I pointed out that I was not a student of these subjects but an anthropology major. I added that we were far afield of the main point: that we simply don't accord the Negroes their rights. Finally, the captain urged the interrogators had better "hush up" or I would think they were prejudiced. I laughed and agreed.

The police also asked me about religion. I said that I had talked to the Episcopalian rector several times last year, and that I was an Episcopalian, but seldom went to church. They told me to go back to my minister and think seriously before I ever did this again. They told me I was free to go, and I went.

I don't know what the attitude of the school will be, but I hope that they'll be tolerant. All my school friends who talked to me have been very pleased, but I am sure there are others who aren't.

Growing up amidst the moderates and the rabble-rousers are some young white Southerners like Cissie who see the inhumanity, the waste, the bestiality and are sickened. What makes them different from the rest is hard to know. With Cissie it was her mother who helped her to see the idiocy of the "Southern tradition" by transmitting some of her own understanding which she had gained through painful experiences.

When we talked in Atlanta she recalled with embarrassment the first incident which had shaken her faith in the rightness of the Southern way of life. "I was newly-married and had just moved into a new apartment. A Negro man named Willie was helping me. He lit a cigarette, and I said to him: 'Willie, don't smoke in my living room.' He said: 'I didn't think I was doing anything wrong.' And I suddenly asked myself: What was wrong with it?"

It was a simple thing that had made her think and remember. Later there were more incidents which finally shaped her views on racial equality, and now her daughter has become a fighter in the struggle for human dignity and she is proud.

—Joanne Grant